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Selections.

THE GREAT DEMONSTRATION IN EXETER HALL.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECHES.

[From the excellent speeches made at the great Anti-Slavery Demonstration in Exeter Hall, London, Jan. 29, we present the following extracts.]

THE HON. AND REV. BAPTIST NOEL.

LET us recollect that President Lincoln, so far from sharing the sanguinary feeling exhibited by Jefferson Davis, when he had learned of the questionable death of only one rebel, immediately issued orders to his Generals to execute none without first giving him information (loud cheers). Ten guiltless officers have been cut off probably in the prime of life by the sanguinary order of the President of the Confederate States (cries of "Shame!"). Nor is this all. I read to my horror, only in to-day's newspaper, that the measure of President Lincoln which proclaims liberty to the slaves—doing precisely that which Moses did by God's authority in Egypt—proclaiming liberty to three million of slaves, doing just that which justice and humanity requires, and forbidding all violence, and telling them, as they value the protection of the government, they must be orderly and work for wages—this proclamation of President Lincoln is denounced by Mr. Jefferson Davis, and is said to be a measure by which millions of human beings of inferior race are doomed to extermination. What does that mean? Are doomed to extermination! It does not mean if they rise against their masters—they could not do so if they desired it. Unarmed men cannot rise where there is an army of 500,000 men with rifles in their hands (hear, hear). What it means is this—that if these slaves attempt to flee, men, women and children, to the extent of millions, shall be murdered by those whose powerful intellects are linked with Satanic energy (cheers). Your welcome of that statement proves to me that you, at least, are not sympathizers with slavery. ("No," and cheers). Now, what I wish to say, my friends, in conclusion, is this—that if you are persuaded it is a mere error, a thorough delusion against evidence to suppose that these slaveholders—if they should become by any course of events independent—will manumit their slaves, then you will bear with me in those principles and give them currency throughout the land, and though we are insignificant, a few, and nobody (laughter and cheers)—it is true—still, if you see the pickets stand to their duty you would think there was an army behind—and there might be an army of 500,000 behind—and I say, gentlemen, you are the pickets of a great Emancipation army in this country (loud cheers). These are my principles on the subject, and from what I have heard you say to-night, I believe they are yours (cheers). If they are, carry them round the land, let them have such an echo all through this country that no man in his senses can say any longer that England is in favor of slavery (cheers). No aid to the tyranny of the slave-owner of the South (hear, hear). No alliance with the murderous policy of Mr. Jefferson Davis (hear, hear). No Alabamas to prey upon American commerce, for their George Griswold sent out to feed our starving operatives (hear, hear). No war with the United States for the slaveholder. No premature recognition. No hostile mediation which leads to both. No recognition at all until they emancipate (cheers). No jealous and spiteful wish to see the United States dismembered, impoverished, and ruined. Emancipation and reunion (protracted cheering, and waving of hats and handkerchiefs). Honor to Mr. Lincoln (cheers)—his Cabinet, his Congress, the Republican party, and all anti-slavery men of whatever party who are for emancipation and the Union (cheers). Speedy peace, true emancipation and reunion (renewed cheers). The mediation of France, England, and Europe, to promote emancipation and reunion on the basis of compensation to the slave-owners for the loss of their slaves (hear, hear). My last principle is—England and the United States for ever friends and allies in promoting religion and liberty throughout all the world (cheers).

MR. THOMAS HUGHES.

Both the people and the government are as deadly set against the freedom of the human race as any men that ever lived on the face of this earth (cheers). Of course in a meeting of this sort, and in twenty minutes, you cannot prove your case, but I only say this—I challenge any friend of the South to name one single leader there who is not pledged over and over again to slavery. I ask them to name one public act, one single Southern Confederate State, which is in favor of human freedom. I say on the contrary, as I said when I first stood up before you, that the cause of the South is the most hateful, the most enslaving, the most debasing tyranny that has been on the face of the earth for a thousand years (cheers). During this American contest one American has been abused, and I think more unjustly dealt by than any other man in the United States; and this abuse of Americans by a portion of the press of this country accounts for the bitter feeling in America against England. In the same *Times* article from which I read to you just now I find this statement: "The stock humbug of the Northern people is a pretence of caring about slavery. Mr. Cassius Clay is much mistaken if he thinks that his neighbors could suppose that he is a real emancipator for emancipation's sake, or that he has any other object in view except that of deluding Europe with fine words." Such words as these are enough to make any people bitter; for a more unjust, a more wicked libel never was put forward (cheers). Now, Mr. Cassius Clay has said many foolish things about this country; but just let me say a word or two about his history. He was born in Kentucky—a slave State. When he went to New England to be educated he looked about him to see what was going on there, and the difference between that country and his own. He went back to his own State of Kentucky; and what did he do there? When he saw the state of things, on one side of the Ohio magnificent cultivation—but on the other side saw desolation and slavery, he said to himself, I will see if I cannot put an end to this, so far as I am concerned; and he emancipated every slave he had (cheers). And what did he do then? He went about Kentucky, the most notorious rowdy place in America, and with his life in his hand he lectured against slavery. He was attacked in his lecture-room several times. At one time four men attacked him, three of whom he killed, and he was left for dead in his lecture-room. This man, who has emancipated every slave of his, who has been cut to pieces for the sake of emancipation, is the man about whom our great paper (a cry of "*The Times*," and hisses) says: "Cassius Clay is much deceived in his own imagination if he thought his neighbors could imagine that he was a real emancipator for emancipation's sake." I have done. I will only put the case to you as it has been put by the great anti-slavery poet, Mr. Lowell, in his poem called "Jonathan to John; or an address to England":

> We know we've got a cause, John,
> That's honest, right, and true;
> We thought 'twould win applause, John,
> If nowhere else, from you.
> The South cry poor men down, John,
> And all men up cry we,
> Black, yellow, white, and brown, John,
> Now which is your idee?

(Laughter and applause.)

> Old Uncle Sam, says he, I guess
> John preaches well, says he;
> But sermon through, and come to do,
> He says, there's old J. B.

Loud cheers.)

REV. NEWMAN HALL.

The heart of old England is sound on the question emancipation, though her voice has not yet been sufficiently heard (loud cheers). We have, indeed, been satirized as about to hold a "Carnival of Cant"; but since the same satirist regards as cant the only practical efforts of the day for rescuing the slaves of intemperance, and for reclaiming fallen women, and has lately adduced the Bible in support of slavery, we feel that "by it to be dispraised is no small praise" (hear, hear). I hate all cant—religious cant, philanthropic cant. But of all cant I hate most that which denounces as cant all earnest conviction which is not after its own type—the widespread and dangerous cant of selfishness and irreligion (hear, hear). Deterred by no such taunts as these, we are resolved to affirm throughout the land the proposition with which I started—that a war, the horrors of which we all lament, having broken out between the Northern and the Southern States, the sympathies of free England must be with the North rather than with the South, because with the success of the North, rather than with that of the South is identified the great cause of negro emancipation (applause). And in affirming this we wish also to give renewed and emphatic utterance to a few simple principles which Southern sympathizers are apt to overlook, but which should be regarded as axiomatic in all assemblies of Englishmen. Those principles are such as these: That "God has made of one blood all nations to dwell upon the face of all the earth" (cheers)—that there is no right so sacred as that which a man has to himself, no wrong so flagrant as that of robbing a man of himself (cheers)—that it is an abomination to steal a man and to sell him (loud cheers)—that it is no less an abomination to breed a man and to sell him (hear, hear)—and for a man to barter away his own offspring for gold (loud cheers)—that it is an abomination to expose men and women on the auction block and feel their muscles and hand them over to the highest bidder as you would cattle (shame!)—that it is an abomination to deny to a woman the rights of chastity and maternity (hear)—that it is an abomination judicially to declare that a colored man has no rights which a white man need respect (hear, hear)—that it is an abomination to flog a naked woman, whether she be a Hungarian countess or an African slave (hear, hear)—that it is an abomination to fine, imprison, flog, and on a repetition of the act hang a man for teaching another man to read the Bible (hear, hear)—that it is hideous blasphemy to cite that Bible of a God of love in defence of such abominations (hear, hear)—that a confederacy of men fighting in order to commit these abominations should be regarded as engaged in a portentous piracy rather than in legitimate warfare (cheers)—that the conscience and heart of free England can never wish to recognize an empire avowing as its corner-stone the right to maintain and extend these abominations (cheers)—and, lastly, as the recognition of an empire involves reception of its ambassador, that the loyalty of Great Britain loathes the very idea of such an indignity being offered to the Royal Lady we delight to venerate, as that her pure, matronly and widowed hand, which wields only the sceptre of love over the free, should ever be contaminated by the kiss of any representative of so foul a conspiracy against civilization, humanity and God! (Immense applause.)

P. A. TAYLOR, M. P.

It is a calumny to say that the founders of the American Republic upheld the principles of slavery which we left them, though it may be regretted that they did not take steps for its gradual abolition (hear, hear). But then no idea was entertained of its being extended to any States in which it did not at that time exist. They thought they had a tumor to deal with which, if let alone, would disappear and be absorbed; but they were wrong. They had to deal with a malignant cancer that must either grow or be extirpated (hear, hear). The longer it was left unextirpated the greater must be the pain in the body politic out of which it is cut (hear, hear). Slavery is essentially a wasteful as well as a wicked system. The owners are compelled to keep their slaves uneducated; because if they were educated, they could not live in their neighborhood (hear, hear). They are compelled, for the purpose of making their labor profitable, to collect them in large masses under a small number of overseers. This exhausts the soil and they must go westward and southward, carrying their pollution with them, or slavery must cease to exist (hear, hear). The whole question is—shall slavery be allowed to spread or be condemned to die? (Hear, hear.) After the slave-owners had filled up the narrow boundaries that were left to them, they said they must have Missouri (hear, hear). They wanted not only land for their slaves to till, but they wanted also political power. The North fought gallantly against them, and at last they had to give way. There was a compromise, to which the South solemnly pledged itself, and by which it was agreed that slavery should not exist beyond a certain boundary; but still the Southerns said that slavery must have its demands satisfied. A squatter sovereignty was established, and when the people of a State had to determine whether or not slavery should exist there, those border ruffians—the Southern chivalry—passed over the boundary to overpower the peaceable citizens of the North [hear, hear]. But the North beat them [cheers]. John Brown, the Garibaldi of America [loud cheers], beat back the filibusters [cheers]. Would he were here to witness this scene [cheers]. The negro is right when he says that although the body of John Brown is in the grave, his spirit pervades the atmosphere of America [loud cheers]. Then the Slave Power made an attack on the rights and freedom of the North more gross and enormous than all that had gone before it. Having carefully packed the Supreme Court of the United States, they obtained that infamous decision known as the Dred Scott decision, by which practically there was no right which the black man could maintain against the white man [hear]. The black man was declared to be the slave, the property, the chattel of the white man. He was declared to be as much so as any movable property which the white man possessed. It was decided that the white man had the power to take the black man into any State he pleased, and to invoke the power of the United States to preserve that chattel property to him [hear]. Then the North was brought face to face with the monster slavery [cheers]. The Free Soil party arose—President Lincoln was elected—and his election was a pledge that the free soil of the United States would never be contaminated by slavery [cheers]. It was a pledge that the great United States—the refuge of the exile—would remain free, and would not be a black spot on the face of the universe [cheers]. If slavery could not otherwise be put down in the places in which it exists, it should, like the scorpion encompassed by flames, be surrounded with the fire of freedom and left to sting itself to death [cheers]. Then came the proclamation by which President Lincoln pledged himself to have recourse to instant emancipation. In answer to the charge that by that proclamation he frees the slaves in the States in which he has no power, and does not free them in the States over which he has power, I say that where President Lincoln has the power by the rights of war he emancipates the slaves; but where the States are loyal he has not the power, and does not emancipate them. Any one can see the pith of the proposition he makes. He proposes that the slaves of the rebel States shall be emancipated by force, and that the slaves of the loyal States shall be emancipated by compensation [cheers]. We are told that this proclamation means nothing, but it is at the same time said that it is the inauguration of a servile war—that the slaves will rise *en masse* and cut their masters' throats; and in reply we are entitled to say, "Gentlemen, by which lie will you stand?" [Cheers.]

MR. J. M. LUDLOW.

I do not say that Mr. Lincoln is a very great statesman, or that his proclamations or messages are of the highest order of literary merit; nor do I even say that his policy is one that we might entirely wish to see. I admit that Mr. Lincoln is a rail-splitter, a bargee, an attorney. But, gentlemen, that rail-splitter has not despaired of his country in its most tremendous crisis [hear, hear]. That bargee is carrying on stoutly a war of unexampled magnitude in a just cause [hear, hear]. That attorney is engaged to the utmost of his power in reconciling the laws of his country with the laws of God [cheers]. Mr. Beresford Hope, a gentleman of large religious professions, and the founder of missionary institutions, has said it is a melancholy spectacle that Mr. Lincoln should have been elected by the voice of three million of people, and that his infamy will exceed that of Sardanapalus or Belshazzar [a laugh]. Let us see in what consists the infamy of President Lincoln. It was in the year 1835 that the question of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia was first mooted in the American Congress, on a memorial from the Society of Friends, since when a period of nearly thirty years has elapsed. It is this Sardanapalus who has rejected slavery from the territory specially subject to the Congress of the United States [hear, hear]. Since 1820 the question has been at issue whether slavery should extend over the territories of the United States which are not yet formed into actual political States. This Belshazzar has been guilty of the infamy of excluding slavery from all those territories [cheers]. Again, the question of conceding the right of search for the suppression of the slave trade has been at issue since 1823 between America and England, and Mr. Lincoln has committed the infamy of granting such concessions [cheers]. We also find that Mr. Lincoln has committed the infamy of proposing to compensate the loyal slaveholders for the loss of their property in slaves, but he uses his right to emancipate without compensation the slaves of such as are in rebellion with his government [hear, hear]. I have to support the resolution [applause]. I would add my voice to that of others, to show sympathy with the North in this contest, and I say that she has been heaping coals of fire upon our head by her noble contributions to the distressed operatives in Lancashire [loud cheers]. I am heartily glad to hear the expression of your feeling on this subject, and I rejoice to know that that expression will go forth across the Atlantic. With regard to the spirit in which the war is waged, I do not think there has ever been a war of so stupendous a character, and involving such great interests, which has been carried on with such moderation as this war has been by President Lincoln. He has shrunk from appealing to the passions of the people; but not so the other side. Passion has been the very thing which Mr. Jefferson Davis has appealed to in every act of his government [hear, hear]. Compare Mr. Lincoln's proclamation with that of Mr. Davis, of which you have heard to-night, which threatens the extermination of the whole negro race because their freedom has been promised by the President [hear, hear]. Now, I trust there are many in this meeting who belong to the working classes. It has long been my pride to be numbered among those classes, and I cannot overlook the fact that this contest in the United States most vitally interests every one of us. What are the principles on which slavery has been advocated by some of its most redoubtable champions in the United States? Mr. Howell Cobb, whose work I have here, speaks of the laborer himself becoming capital in the hands of his master, and of their interests becoming in this manner identical. Now, then, is the time for you, working men, such among you as are desirous of becoming capital in the hands of masters, to express your sympathy with the Southern States [cheers and laughter]. Remember this, however, when you see such principles put forth: that every lash on the back of a negro slave tends somewhere or other to increase the hostility between master and man in far distant lands—to encourage the spread of oppression on the part of one class—to awaken bitter feelings on the part of the other [cheers]. I say that nothing but the abolition of slavery in all its forms—and there are many under which it lurks yet under our own social system—nothing but that can truly reconcile the interests of the employer and employed [applause]. In the name of both, then, I call upon you, no longer in irony, but in solemn truth, to express your hearty sympathy with the North in this struggle [loud applause].

ONCE FREE, ALWAYS FREE.

THE recent decision in a slave case at St. Louis is so important that it is worth while to understand it fully, and the principles involved in it. Benjamin Williams, a negro, was brought before the St. Louis criminal court to be tried for grand larceny and convicted. The law of Missouri punishes a slave guilty of this crime by whipping, not to exceed thirty-nine stripes, while the free man is punished by imprisonment from two to seven years. It was therefore necessary for the judge to determine the status of the culprit before pronouncing sentence. Evidence was brought showing that Williams, whose real name is Douglas, was three months ago the slave of Major Thrailhill of the rebel army. The counsel for the prisoner, who preferred stripes to imprisonment, argued that he was not a free man because the President's proclamation is unconstitutional and void. The whole case turned on that point. Judge Glover gave an elaborate decision, quoting largely from the legal authorities. He reached this conclusion:

"From the best judgment which I can bestow upon the question, I am of opinion, and so declare, that the prisoner is a free man, free by virtue of the proclamation, and that being once a free man he is forever a free man, for I know of no power or law by which a man being once emancipated can be again manc.pated. On the 1st day of January of the present year of grace, the prisoner, then a slave, became rehabilitated with freedom, and though he has again lost that freedom, it is only temporarily; though again placed in servitude for a period of his life, it is only that servitude affixed to a penalty for crime, and which has been recognized in all ages and countries under the Mosaic as under the Christian dispensation."

It has been objected to the proclamation that it would amount to little practically, because as soon as the war ends the Southern State courts will declare the proclamation null and void, and so reduce the freed negroes to slavery again. If Judge Glover's decision is in accordance with the established principles of law, there can be little room to fear any re-establishment of slavery by judicial process. If the proclamation is valid for the time being its legal consequences must be permanent and unchangeable, and once free the slaves will be always free. With regard to the law of nations applicable to the case Judge Glover quotes the following passage from Vattel, which is quite as applicable to civil war as to foreign war:

"It has been observed that we may be obliged, if not externally, yet in conscience and by the laws of equity, to restore to a third party the booty we have recovered out of the hands of an enemy, who had taken it from him in an unjust war. The obligation is more certain and more extensive with regard to a people whom our enemy had unjustly oppressed; for a people thus spoiled of their liberty never renounce the hope of recovering it. If they have not voluntarily incorporated themselves with the State by which they have been subdued; if they have not freely aided her in the war against us, we certainly ought so to use our victory as not merely to give them a new master, but to break their chains. To deliver an oppressed people is a noble fruit of victory: it is a valuable advantage gained, thus to acquire a faithful friend."

THE PROCLAMATION IN CANADA.

DISLOYAL papers in this city repeatedly assert that the Emancipation proclamation wins us no friends in other nations. The assertions have repeatedly been shown to be false and are again contradicted with emphasis by a recent public expression of sympathy from Canada. The Anti-Slavery Society of that Province held an anniversary meeting in Toronto on Wednesday of last week, which, in spite of a violent storm, was largely attended. It numbered among its active participants many clergymen of high position and wide influence, and many eminent citizens whose names are well known in business and politics. The resolutions and speeches referred almost exclusively to this country, and especially to the condition and prospects of slavery in the rebel States as affected by the proclamation, and the tone of both was friendly to the republic and hopeful of its future.

The Chairman, the Rev. Dr. Willis, stated that the meeting had been deferred in order to welcome the proclamation, and plainly declared that whatever might be the result of the pending struggle, their sympathies were due to the National cause whose triumph insured the destruction of slavery. The Rev. Dr. Burns, who moved the first resolution, spoke in similar terms, and cordially expressed his wishes for the success of the Northern armies.

But the most important speech of the meeting was made by the Hon. George Brown, widely known in America and England as a leader of the Liberal party in Canada. He discusses the affairs of the United States with an accurate knowledge and intelligent comprehension very unusual in a foreigner, and especially rare among Englishmen. His speech might be read with profit here as well as in Great Britain. It is wholly and heartily on the side of the government and against the rebellion, and it is so because he recognizes the anti-slavery character which the war has derived from the proclamation. "We see," says this clear-sighted observer, "that if the policy of the present government at Washington prevails, the curse of human slavery will be swept from our continent forever; and our hearts go up with earnest petitions to the God of Battles that He will strengthen the hands of Abraham Lincoln, and give wisdom to his councils."

His testimony on one point is especially valuable. He is just returned from a visit to England, where he does not fail to see that "the general sympathy was very decidedly on the side of the South." But this sympathy he traces to a misconception of the character and purpose of the war, declaring that England is as anti-slavery as ever, and that the moment she is convinced that the proclamation announces the adoption of an unswerving policy, her people will be for the government and the Union. Such a speech will exert a helpful influence in Canada and Great Britain alike. Followed as it was by others equally decided in expression from men of public character and position, it and they are an unmistakable declaration of the favorable change which the Emancipation proclamation is producing in our relations abroad.—*Trib.*

CONFERENCE OF THE LONDON EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

From The London Evening Star, Jan. 30.

PREPARATORY to the great Emancipation demonstration in Exeter Hall, a Conference of the members of the General Committee of the Emancipation Society was held yesterday afternoon at the Whittington Club. Mr. William Evans, the Chairman of the Society, presided, and among the gentlemen present were M. Victor Schœlcher, Under Minister of Marine in the French Provisional Government; the Hon. Judge Marshall, of Nova Scotia; Mr. Edmond Beales, Barrister-at-Law; Prof. Beesley, Mr. James Grant, Mr. Benjamin Scott, City Chamberlain; Mr. Justin McCarthy, Mr. Washington Wilks, Mr. W. Shaen, Mr. W. T. Malleson, Rev. Dr. Burns, Mr. D. McDonnell, Mr. W. Farmer, Rev. Dr. Waddington, Rev. J. C. Galloway, M.A., Mr. C. H. Elt, Mr. R. Ferguson, from Carlisle; Mr. E. Wainwright, Rev. J. H. Rylance, Mr. F. W. Chesson, Rev. Charles Stovel, Mr. J. Gorrie, Rev. F. Neller, Mr. W. Barnard, Rev. E. Davies, Rev. J. H. Wilson, Mr. H. J. Slack, Rev. H. D. Northrop, B.A., Rev. D. Nimmo, Rev. P. Gast, Rev. James Bolton, incumbent of Kilburn, etc.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, said the friends in London were extremely glad to see their friends from the country; and he was sure they would all be glad to know that the Society was increasing in so swift and satisfactory a manner (applause). He then called on the Hon. Secretary to read the Report of the Executive.

Mr. Chesson, before reading the report, said, letters regretting the inability of the writers to be present, and sympathizing cordially with the Society, had been received from Mr. John Stuart Mill, Professor Newman, Professor Cairnes, Mr. Edward Miall, Col. Solway, Mr. A. Travelyn, Mr. W. Hargreaves, Mr. Coningham, M.P., Mr. Alexander, of Glasgow, etc. Mr. Alexander, in his letter, said, the government of President Lincoln had done everything in its power except one, and that was to recommend to Congress a measure for the compulsory abolition of slavery in the loyal States from and after (say) the 1st of January next, on the terms of compensation embodied in the recent proclamation. Mr. Chesson then read the following Report:

"The existence of the Society may be said to date from the preliminary meeting held at the Whittington Club on the 11th of November last. At that meeting a resolution was passed to the effect that a Society, to be called "The Emancipation Society," should be formed for the purpose of counteracting the alleged sympathy of this country with the so-called Southern Confederacy of America; and especially with a view to encourage the United States government in the prosecution of an anti-slavery policy. The Executive Committee appointed on that occasion lost no time in commencing the organization of the Society, and in testing the public opinion of the metropolis on the American question. They at once issued an address setting forth the grounds on which they claimed public sympathy and support; and they also issued a circular letter having the same object in view, but intended for more private circulation. The address was published in various newspapers friendly to the cause, and both address and circular were dispatched to every friend of emancipation whose name and address could be obtained. The response has been most gratifying. Without waiting for the appearance of any well-known names, men of all classes and residing in every part of the country promptly sent in their adhesion, and requested their names to be enrolled as members of the General Committee. That Committee now consists of nearly 300 gentlemen, and includes many persons who will be recognized as leaders of movements designed to promote the social, intellectual, or religious well-being of mankind. Chief among these may be mentioned the honored names of John Stuart Mill, Professors Goldwin Smith, Newman and Cairnes, Gen. Perronet Thompson, Thomas Hughes and Baptist Noel. The number of our supporters is constantly increasing; indeed, every new attack upon the Society is followed by an unfailing augmentation of its numerical strength and moral influence. A few days after the formation of the Society, some of our friends held a meeting in the Metropolitan Institution; and although there was an organized opposition, the resolutions moved by Prof. Newman and others were carried by overwhelming majorities. The same results attended the holding of meetings by Mr. George Thompson at Finsbury Chapel, Southwark, and other parts of the metropolis. The Society's first meeting was held at Paddington. This was quickly followed by others held at the Lambeth Baths (at which upwards of two thousand workingmen were present), Spafields Chapel, Myddelton Hall, Islington; Plaistow, and Cowper street. Although opposition was invited at all these meetings, at only one of them did our opponents venture to propose a hostile amendment; and the result afforded another notable proof of the unpopularity of their cause. In addition to the meetings held at the expense of the Society, and under its direct auspices, gratuitous lectures have been delivered in various parts of London by the Rev. Newman Hall, Mr. B. Scott, the Chamberlain of London; Mr. George Thompson and Mr. Washington Wilks. The meeting at Cowper street was held on the last day of the old year; and the design of the Committee was fully realized in this noble demonstration of public sympathy with the Emancipation policy of President Lincoln. On this occasion an address to the President, in anticipation of his proclamation of the 1st of January, declaring the abolition of slavery in all the rebel States, was unanimously agreed to; and the document in question was forwarded to Mr. Adams, the American Minister, by whom it was acknowledged in courteous and grateful terms.

"Some time before the close of the year, the Executive Committee issued a circular to the clergy and ministers of all denominations, urging them to give to the subject of negro emancipation a prominent and suitable place in the new year's religious services; and they also enclosed a long and special address which had been prepared by Dr. Massie, and signed by himself and several of his brethren connected with the Church of England and the Congregational and Baptist bodies. Several thousands of these two documents were dispatched to clergymen and ministers—a work in which the Committee received important assistance from the London Committee of Correspondence on American Affairs, who forwarded 2,500 copies of each address to their destinations, without expense to the Society.

"The Committee, at an early stage of their operations, felt the need of communicating information to the public through the medium of tracts and other publications. They considered that no more admirable use could be made of the funds placed at their disposal than by promoting the circulation of such pamphlets as have been written by Prof. Cairnes, the Rev. W. Taylor, of California; Dr. Massie, Mr. Charles S. Miall and Mr. Wilks. They regarded Prof. Cairnes's lecture as especially calculated to inform the public mind as to the real causes of the rebellion, and to satisfy every impartial reader that from the beginning the war between the North and the South has been a struggle between freedom and slavery. They have purchased 3,000 copies of the fourth edition of this admirable publication, and they propose to begin the work of distributing them by sending a copy to every member of Parliament. They have printed 3,000 copies of Mr. Baptist Noel's excellent speech at Spafields, and have purchased 2,500 copies of Mrs. Stowe's address to the ladies of England, 2,000 copies of Mr. Wilks's pamphlet on the President's Proclamation, and 2,000 copies of a pamphlet on the case of the Alabama. In addition, they have sent a weekly sheet of extracts from the American papers to upwards of 300 London and provincial journals, choosing such paragraphs and articles as tended to illustrate the anti-slavery aspects of the war, and the progress which the cause of emancipation was making in both the Northern and the Southern States. It is impossible to attach too much importance to this branch of their work, and they have good reason to believe that their labor has proved far from unproductive. Lists of the General Committee have been published in *The Times* and other journals, and the Committee desire to tender their best thanks to the editors of *The Morning Star*, *The Daily News*, *The Morning Advertiser*, *The Nonconformist*, and *The Caledonian Mercury*, for the publication of these lists, and of the documents and reports relating to the Society. Many other journals, especially in the provinces, have equal claims on their gratitude.

"As soon as possible after the arrival in this country of the news of the President's Proclamation, the Committee appointed a deputation to wait upon Mr. Adams for the purpose of presenting to him a resolution, expressing their high appreciation of the important step which had been taken by his government, and their earnest hope that the Union would speedily be restored on the basis of emancipation. As only a few hours' notice was given to the members of the Society who were within reach, the attendance was more limited than it would otherwise have been; but the deputation numbered several gentlemen who stand high in the esteem of their fellow-countrymen; and they had every reason to be satisfied both with the reception which was accorded to them by Mr. Adams and the effect which this interview with him produced upon the public mind. The English supporters of the Southern slavocracy suddenly awoke to a consciousness of the fact that the friends of negro emancipation were in earnest, and were determined to resist, and if possible to turn back, the current of pro-slavery reaction which had set in. The interview over, the Committee lost no time in completing the arrangements for the Exeter Hall meeting, and for holding the Conference to which this brief report is presented.

"Meanwhile, our appeal to our provincial friends has not been made in vain. A great demonstration of the working classes of Manchester was held on the 31st of December; and from that meeting the Manchester Union and Emancipation Society, with Mr. T. B. Potter as its Chairman, has sprung. At Liverpool, a few days later, a Conference of leading public men was held, and resolutions of sympathy with the American government in its anti-slavery policy were carried by a large majority, notwithstanding the pro-Southern advocacy of Mr. James Spence. Since then the opinion of the people of Liverpool has been tested at a public meeting, and with the same triumphant result. At Birmingham an active committee, has been formed, and arrangements have been made for a series of important meetings, which will be attended by Mr. George Thompson, Mr. Handel Cossham and Mr. J. A. Partridge. At Bradford a local Committee has been organized; and, simultaneously with the Exeter Hall meeting, a great demonstration will take place at St. George's Hall, at which Mr. Forster, the member for the borough, will preside, and the London and Manchester meetings will both be represented by efficient deputations. Mr. Thompson, whose disinterested labors in this cause are worthy of all praise, has recently aroused the old anti-slavery feeling of the Potteries; and, by his addresses in Sheffield, has been the means of calling a society into existence in that town. In Plymouth, Southampton, Leeds, Huddersfield, Carlisle, Glasgow, and other great towns, the same good work is in progress; and arrangements are being made for public meetings, at all of which the Committee hope the Emancipation Society will be represented. Their object, it will be seen, has been, not to get up a factitious agitation, or to put in motion an extensive centralized machinery, but to develop local public spirit—to make English citizens everywhere feel that it was their duty to move and act for themselves. The Committee believe that if their hands are strengthened, a still further measure of success will attend their labors; and that they will not only succeed in encouraging America in an anti-slavery policy by an expression of British sympathy, but will revive in its ancient vigor the faith which has been bequeathed to us by Wilberforce and Buxton, and again place Great Britain before the world in her true character—that of an anti-slavery nation."

Mr. Malleson, the Treasurer, said before the motion for adopting the report was put he would rebut an accusation which had appeared in *The Times*. In that journal it had been insinuated that the funds by which the emancipation agitation was carried on had been supplied by agents of America in this country. Officially he was in a position to state that this was not the truth. He, therefore, begged to say that not one farthing of the funds of the Society had either directly or indirectly been received from the American government, or from the American Minister, or from any of their agents (loud cheers).

The Chairman then said the Conference would be happy to receive remarks and suggestions.

Mr. B. Scott said he disagreed with Mr. Alexander touching the scheme of compulsory emancipation for the loyal States, advocated in that gentleman's letter. He (Mr. Scott) believed President Lincoln had done all the Constitution allowed him to do. If the President were to adopt the policy recommended by Mr. Alexander he would be overriding the law, for he had no power to introduce compulsory emancipation into the loyal States (hear, hear).

M. Victor Schœlcher moved the following resolution: "The General Committee adopts the Report of its Executive, expresses its high sense of the vigorous and efficient manner in which the operations of the Society have been carried on, observes with the deepest satisfaction the change in public opinion upon the questions arising out of the civil war in America, and requests the Executive Committee to continue in the discharge of their duties until it shall be deemed expedient once more to call the General Committee together." He wished cordially to express his concurrence with the objects of the Society. It was of the highest importance that England should show sympathy for the North. He hoped that slavery would soon be abolished throughout America, for he was sure that when that was done slavery would be abolished all over the world (cheers).

Mr. Robert Ferguson, of Carlisle, in seconding the motion, said the Society had already produced a salutary effect on the public opinion of the country. He considered they were greatly indebted to the working classes for the correct views they entertained regarding the struggle, and for the firm manner in which they had maintained them (loud cheers).

The Rev. Dr. Burns said he cordially agreed with the sentiments of the previous speaker. He had been much interested by the Report, and he hoped that success might attend the operations of the Society.

Mr. William Shaen agreed with Mr. Scott in thinking that Mr. Alexander, in recommending compulsory emancipation for the loyal States, had entirely misapprehended the nature of President Lincoln's constitutional position. The President had by his acts shown his sincerity in behalf of emancipation (applause).

Professor Beesly commended the Society for the activity it had displayed, and bore testimony to the deep interest the working classes displayed in behalf of emancipation.

Mr. Henry Browne remarked that when Parliament met great efforts would no doubt be made in behalf of recognizing the South. He believed, however, that the Society had done much to increase the difficulties of any efforts which might be made.

Mr. Edmond Beales said the Society was successfully accomplishing the purposes for which it had been established. Its object was not only to vindicate the honor and consistency of our country against misrepresentation, but also to support the Emancipation policy which President Lincoln had adopted. They had been told that the North was fighting for empire, and the South for independence; but the efforts of the Society had served to show that the South was fighting for slavery, and the North to put it down (cheers).

Mr. J. M'Carthy said that strong parliamentary influence would be used in favor of recognizing the South, and therefore it was of great importance that the Society should take prompt action to meet such an expression of opinion.

After some further remarks from Mr. W. Barnard, Mr. Elt, and the Rev. Charles Stovel, the resolution was unanimously adopted, and the Conference terminated with the ordinary compliment to the Chairman.

REACTION IN ENGLAND.

From The Tribune.

MR. RICHARD D. WEBB, of Dublin, Ireland, a correspondent of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD of this city, says in a letter to that paper, that "*The Tribune*, some time since, distinctly offered to the South to let bygones be bygones, and to grant them their own terms, or to a similar effect, if the Confederates would give up their efforts for a separate political existence, and would restore the Union as it was before the war." Mr. Webb further adds, that the identical *Tribune* containing this proposition is kept at the office of a London newspaper, where it may be seen by whoever doubts the assertion. If they have any such paper in London, we are not surprised that it is kept for the satisfaction of the curious. If we had it here we should make precisely the same disposition of it—perhaps have it framed and glazed for its better preservation. It would be a greater curiosity here even than in London.

Mr. Richard D. Webb is a man of great intelligence, is specially conversant with American affairs, and, being himself an editor, would be presumed to know something of the leading journals of this country. That he should have been persuaded to believe so absurd a story as this is only to be explained by the fact that he, with many other of the old Anti-Slavery people of Great Britain, had no better defence for the want of sympathy that has hitherto existed among them for our great and final struggle with the Slave Power than that it was not accepted as such by ourselves. However true this may be as regards a large portion of our people who always have been, and are still, to a certain extent, pro-slavery, it is not true as regards those who have hitherto been jealous of the encroachments and the ascendancy of slavery, and have labored as far as they could within constitutional bounds to limit and control them. It has suited a certain class abroad to keep this distinction out of sight, and to misrepresent *The Tribune* would strengthen that position. But a better spirit is beginning to show itself. Some of the best minds and most influential journals of England and Ireland have, from the beginning, understood the real character of the struggle in which we are engaged, and have labored with zeal and energy to impress their views upon the minds of their countrymen. The progress of events among us, and at last the Proclamation of the 1st of January, have aided them in their work, and the results of their labors are beginning to be seen in the monster meetings which are being held all over the kingdom. A reaction is evidently going on in the public mind. Public opinion there, as here, is the source of power, and if, as there now seems reason to hope, the common people of Great Britain shall come to comprehend the state of affairs in this country, and that the establishment of free government and the rights of man, as the result of the war, is their cause as well as ours, the British government in whatever they do will be compelled to conform to their will. The history of England is a history of a series of struggles between the people as a whole and an aristocratic class. The revolution we are engaged in is nothing more nor less than this, and it only needs that this be thoroughly understood abroad to arouse an overwhelming feeling of sympathy for the North. How strong the moral influence of this would be is shown plainly enough in the attempts of those journals here, which strive as far as they dare for the success of the rebels, to belittle and ridicule the recent popular demonstrations in England in favor of the North. The evident intent of these journals is to alienate, if possible, still further the popular feeling abroad, knowing very well that the greater the danger of some foreign complication of our affairs the stronger is the probability of the success of the rebellion. We need that England should be our friend, for even the wisest may not foresee the magnitude of events that may yet grow out of our present conflict. Let it be remembered that the people and the government of Great Britain are not always on the same side, but that the people are always in the end supreme. We may well watch with solicitude, therefore, for every new evidence of their sympathy with us, and of their awakened comprehension of the real character of the war.

SPREAD OF ANTI-SLAVERY VIEWS IN THE SOUTH.

THE proofs that anti-slavery sentiments are spreading in all the slave States are multiplying in a gratifying manner. The speeches of Gov. Hamilton of Texas, the election of two Members of Congress who are considered anti-slavery men, by 8,000 voters of New Orleans and the vicinity, the proceedings of the Union Club in New Orleans, the establishment of two Anti-Slavery papers in the French language in New Orleans, the Free Labor movement in North Carolina, the declarations of men like Gov. Johnson, Maynard, Clements, Etheridge, Brownlow of Tennessee, the votes cast for Emancipationist candidates in Missouri, the virtual abolition of slavery in West Virginia, the election of an Emancipation Governor in Delaware, the appointment of an Emancipationist U. S. Senator from Maryland—these and many other facts of a like character cannot be explained away by the Northern sympathizers with the Slave

power of the perfidious and cruel tyrant of this rebellion, having been overthrown, a peace may be laid on the broad foundations of National Unity and Equal Justice to all, under the Constitution and the laws, I remain your fellow-citizen,

W. S. Rosecrans, Major-General.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1863.

Correspondents will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard, No. 48 Beekman street, New York."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "Publisher of the Anti-Slavery Standard, No. 48 Beekman street, New York."

THE OFFICE OF THE ABOLITIONISTS.

Had time and the urgent press of matter for our last number allowed of it, we should have then expressed to our most esteemed correspondent at Philadelphia our sense of the value of his testimony as to the way in which we have discharged our editorial duties, and for the cheerful and hopeful view he took of the probabilities of the Situation. The position of the only purely Anti-Slavery press in the country is one of no small difficulty and delicacy. Its duties differ from those of every other sheet, political or religious. It has no party and no sect to promote or defend. It has no prospect of preferment or profit from any possible success of its labors. Its most brilliant future, that towards which it looks with unutterable longings, is a speedy Euthanasia—to be swallowed up in a happy death consequent on a glorious victory. It only prays to be permitted to depart in peace, after seeing the salvation of the Slave. The utterances of such a sheet can hardly be universally acceptable even to the small body of supporters who recognize the importance of its existence and its services. Some such think that too much censure is cast upon the Administration, which they hold is doing all that it sees practicable for Emancipation, and more than all preceding Administrations put together. Others are of the opinion that we are altogether too ready to sustain the Powers that Be, and that we should accept of no installments in the payment of the enormous debt this nation owes to the slaves, and which it is bound, in conscience and duty, to discharge at once and in full. And between these two extremes there is every shade of opinion as to the manner in which we have discharged our trust, of which opinion, we are happy to believe, our excellent Philadelphia friend gives the average expression.

We can truly say that if we have failed in our duty, it has been from want of wisdom and capacity, and not from want of the best of dispositions in the premises; as to which we do not apprehend any doubt or cavil, inasmuch as we can have no imaginable motive to fall short of it. We have endeavored to look at all public events and public men in the light, and with the eyes, that a slave would regard them, who possessed the degree of intelligence, natural and acquired, which we happen to have. Whatever such a slave would rejoice at, and in that degree, we have rejoiced; and where he would instinctively feel that his rights were wickedly or foolishly neglected or put in jeopardy, we have fearlessly uplifted our voice in remonstrance, in expostulation, in denunciation. And this we hold to be our exact and appointed duty, which we are especially set to do, and unless we perform which our office is empty of all practical value. Looking at the scene of public affairs from this standpoint, we have seen much to rejoice at in the steady gravitation of the government to the only policy which could, or which should, give it victory. As a general thing we have sustained it and urged all voting men to give it their support at the polls as against the faction striking at the Nation through its sides. But we could not shut our eyes to its shortcomings, its vacillations, its procrastinations, or to the judicial blindness which could put a man like McClellan, a proved incompetent military pedant at the best, in the most important commands, and that more than once, and recall a man like Butler, the only one who has shown capacity to comprehend the situation, and courage to grapple with it! In view of all these things and many more, especially the retaining in the Cabinet as prime minister one who has no faith in the vital measure of its policy, we could not devote ourselves to an undistinguishing support of the Administration. And, still less, on the other hand, could we consent to join ourselves, even by implication, to the traitorous bands who are seeking to overthrow or cripple it, when we remember the Prohibition of Slavery in the Territories, its Abolition in the District, the Concession of the Right of Search, the encouragement to Emancipation in the Border States, and finally, the Proclamation that auspicated the new year.

If there has been any perplexity in the minds of any of our readers as to our position and the reasons of it, we have here given them the key which will explain it all. We have considered ourselves as representing, not the Republican party, not even the American nation, primarily, but the American Slave, and we have endeavored to see with his eyes, to feel with his heart, to consider with his judgment, supposing him to be as intelligent and well-informed as we are capable of being, whenever facts or men were to be passed upon. We have no Presidential candidate to support, no scheme of domestic or foreign policy to promote, no personal ambitions to gratify. All we ask is justice to the slave, which we believe will bring with it all other good things, and that in the just proportion in which it is fully and righteously accorded. It is this feeling, extending far beyond the ranks of the American Anti-Slavery Society, though mainly issuing therefrom and kindred sources, originally, that creates what is opprobriously styled the Radical element in Congress and in the country, and to which our enemies attribute all for which we have reason to thank God. It is to the hated Radicals, of which sinners we boast of being the chief, that the President owes the main support he has had in his Anti-Slavery steps, if they were not originally prompted by them. These earnest men, though not so purely and simply Anti-Slavery as we are, have been led to see how inextricably slavery is bound up with all our fortunes, and that success in the war and prosperity in the peace which is to round it, can never be had until it is hewn in pieces and given to the winds. And it is to this class of minds that we have to look for the deliverance we hope for. And how is it that they have prevailed thus far in creating a public sentiment to sustain the President and been enabled to strengthen his hands, themselves? By blindly accepting his every action or inaction, his every word or silence, as the highest wisdom and efficiency? Not at all. It has been by the constant vigilance of friendly criticism, remonstrance and advice that they have done the good work attributed to them by their enemies. By being instant in season and out of season, by the wholesome wounding of friends, it is that they have stood between him and the insidious counsels and the treasonous malice of his enemies, and helped him to hold each new position as he advanced to it. This work is by no means finished yet. The country is not yet saved, the slave is still in his bonds, Rebellion is rampant in the front and Treason is couchant in the rear. The sword of the open enemy and the dagger of the secret assassin are both lifted against the life of the Nation. A more critical hour than any she has yet passed through awaits her. And we are to see to it she does not sacrifice the slave in the agony of her struggle for life.

Our excellent Philadelphia Correspondent speaks of the cheerful views which he is constitutionally inclined to take of events. We thank God that we too have a sanguine temperament—perhaps, the best of His gifts. We, too,

> "——where an equal poise of hope and fear
> Doth arbitrate the event, it is our nature
> That we incline to hope rather than fear,
> And gladly banish squint Suspicion."

And what we are, are the Abolitionists in general. Were it not so, we were not merely of men the most miserable, but of men the most impossible. For what but a living faith in the prevalence of truth and the final vindication of the Divine Laws could have made the Abolitionists endure for the last thirty years, even to this day? What else could nerve them to bear up and steer right onward, bating no jot of heart or hope, in the teeth of Texas Annexation, Mexican War, Fugitive Slave bill, Missouri Repeal and all the other tempests that have crossed their course? Through all those evil days they maintained their cheerful hope as well as their undaunted courage, and were never more sure of the coming day than in the darkest hour that ever gloomed around them. And they will most assuredly not despond now that every sign in Heaven and on Earth tells that the day is at hand. And it is at hand, as God reckons speed; though it may be delayed by our sloth or sin. We believe that the Proclamation of the First of January will be a mighty instrument in bringing about the abolition of slavery. And this, though we think that it is by no means certain that slavery is not to have a season of prosperous wickedness such as it has never yet seen, before the end comes. It certainly will, unless our armies hinder it by speedy victories, followed up by a very different enforcement of the proclamation than that Gen. Banks is making, in the interest of the masters, at New Orleans. The leaders of the Administration and of the Opposition in England agree in the impossibility they equally desire of the success of the North in reducing the South. Bonaparte has already put out his feelers to see whether England will unite with him in liberating Cotton from its durance. It is only a question of fitness of time and not of principle, Derby and Russell being authentic oracles. How much more defeat and failure on our part will it take to make the time fit for interposition? That both nations together can break the blockade, we think cannot be doubted. What follows? From four to five million of bales are waiting exportation. The Davis government will control the sale and forwarding of these so as to keep up the price. As cotton goes eastward, a stream of gold will set in westward. Within a year, at least a thousand million will flow over the cotton country. The finances of the Confederacy will be placed on a specie basis, and its bonds be above par in the stock markets of Europe, if not of New York and Boston, too. Even if war ensue with the intruding Powers, it will be withdrawn from the cotton country, and slavery will batten on its flocculent food, protected by French and English cannon. Should we, on the other hand, prevail sufficiently so as to bring the rebel States under the National sway again, and slavery not have been utterly crushed in the process, the course of things would not be very different. For we have small hope of the proclamation if it once get into the clutches of the Supreme Court (a danger we believe we were the first to point out), and none whatever of any general confiscation of rebel property for the expenses of the war. Slavery remaining, it would have a brief season, at least, of unexampled prosperity. We still believe that through the agitation of the Northern mind, and the excitement and disappointment of the slaves, and the determination of the world to break up the cotton monopoly, slavery will come to an end comparatively soon. But how late compared to what might have been had the heart of all men at the head of our civil and military affairs been in the only remedy of our mischiefs! We will yet hope the best and do all we can to make our hope a fact. But we must not forget that it is yet in supposition, and how easily treachery, folly or stupidity may wreck it all, at least for this adventure.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REVIVAL IN ENGLAND.

The Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln has awakened to new life the smouldering anti-slavery sentiment of England, which is interposing itself as a wall of fire in resistance to the machinations of the rebel emissaries and their sympathizers in that country. English papers, received by the last arrival, give accounts of large and spirited public meetings in various places, similar in their character and objects to the great Exeter Hall demonstration. On Tuesday, Feb. 3, a deputation of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and of its friends and supporters, had an interview with the American Minister, Hon. Charles Francis Adams, for the purpose of presenting a Minute on the American Crisis. Upwards of seventy gentlemen from different parts of the kingdom were present. The Minute of the Committee and the reply of Mr. Adams we shall publish next week.

The tone of debate on American Affairs in Parliament now is somewhat different from what it was before the Emancipation proclamation was issued. In the course of the discussion which followed the reading of the Queen's speech, Lord Russell said:

"No one, I believe, in this country desires a forcible intervention on behalf of either of the parties to the American struggle. . . . . But there would be one event which would be a calamity to the world, and more especially to the negro race, and that would be the subjugation of the North by the South. One of the first consequences of such subjugation must be, that the North must renounce all her former policy, must put down a free press and free discussion. That would produce anarchy, and the cause of liberty would suffer in America for a century to come. I hope that whatever may be the end of this contest, such may not be the result. I trust we shall see at the end of this struggle, the people of America enjoying—whether in one or two great republics—independence and power. For my own part, before this contest began, I rejoiced in the progress of the United States of America. The flourishing state of a people descended from the same ancestors as ourselves, and possessing laws of personal liberty similar to our own, was a sight in which Englishmen might rejoice. I should indeed lament if at the end of the struggle we should find that people deprived of those benefits and privileges which dignify and adorn mankind."

The London *Dial*, alluding to the above, says:

"These words are worthy of a statesman who in his younger days sat at the feet of Charles James Fox and advocated the cause of freedom without distinction of class or color. Those who are clamorous for the recognition of the South are literally without any representatives in Parliament possessing political influence; and such an evil as intervention in American affairs (under whatever form it might be disguised) is now placed far beyond the reach of probability."

Mr. Althorpe, who moved the address in reply to the Queen, made a speech from which we take the following:

"He could understand that any time in last year they might have been inclined to join with France in mediatory efforts; but from the 1st of January, *when the Proclamation of Freedom to the negroes was adhered to by Mr. Lincoln, he thought no government would have ventured to interfere* (cheers). It might be said that Mr. Lincoln proclaimed freedom to those over whom he had no control, and that those who were in his power he consigned to slavery rather than admitted to freedom. But Mr. Lincoln had remained literally within the Constitution (hear, hear). He had no power as President of a great federation of States to act against any institution of those States. But as Commander-in-Chief he had a right to enact any measure which might tend to bring about the discomfiture and defeat of those whom he regarded as rebels (cheers). . . . . *There was now a chance of the entire abolition of slavery if the proclamation were fully carried out; for that proclamation had not been addressed to the Southern States only, but virtually to the Brazils and to Spain as well*; for if the slaves should be emancipated in America, but ten years, or certainly not twenty, would elapse before the negroes of Brazil and of Spain would be free also (hear). Whatever might be the conflict of opinion and argument, based on the same premises, but tending to different conclusions, which prevailed in this question, he had no doubt they should always see shining with steadfast brilliancy the sacred right of human freedom (hear, hear). He had attempted to advocate a great cause, which he believed was the real, though possibly the indirect origin of the war, and he was convinced the good sense and right feeling of the people of England would always prevent any government from attempting to interfere with or counteract the possible, and be hoped probable, results of such a proclamation" (hear, hear).

The Friends of Freedom in Bucks County, Pa., have cause for congratulation in the opportunity about to be afforded them of hearing a lecture from Theodore D. Weld. It is an opportunity they should on no account miss.

FRIENDLY CRITICISM.

Feb. 15, 1863.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

A letter has just been brought to me from a friend, in which the following sentence occurs: "The leading article in this week's Standard has almost broken my heart." The Standard was received at the same time with the letter, and I turned to it with some anxiety. I must confess I found cause for astonishment and regret, and as the feelings of my correspondent may be shared by others, I beg for a little space in which I may set forth opposite opinions. Certainly this is an hour in which Abolitionists should speak the words of hope and encouragement and not those of despair.

In the first place, I take exception to the title of the article, "The Agony at Hand." From this, and from the direct statements that follow, we are compelled to infer that unless some remarkable and unlooked for step is taken by Congress within the next three weeks, we are a ruined people. To carry out the figure, National death is before us. In a later statement, the writer makes everything turn upon the events of the next three or four months. Now I, for one, must protest against this mode of writing as one more suited to affect the imagination than the reason. I certainly hope, and expect, that our troops will in the next three months have obtained important victories, that the President and his Cabinet will have grown more bold and energetic, that more traitorous and incompetent Generals will have been ousted from command, that the Peace Democrats will have found out that they have made a great blunder, and that above all, Abolitionists will cease to give aid and comfort to the enemy, and praise and admiration to Mr. Jefferson Davis and the unscrupulous ruffians that surround him. But if all these prophecies are fulfilled but very partially, I shall lose no jot of heart or hope. I know that history is long in the making. Nations are neither saved nor lost so easily. It is by a long course of events and sequences that a national fate is decided.

In the second place, I disagree in part with the opinions expressed in this article, in respect to the Executive. This writer represents a portion, I would hope only a portion, of the Abolitionists, but of him and them I would say that it would be well if they pondered the 16th and 17th verses of the 9th of Matthew. In attempting to judge the action of Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet, according to the principles of the Anti-Slavery Societies, they commit the error of putting new cloth into old garments, new wine into old bottles. No active member of the Anti-Slavery Society could, without great dereliction of principle, have allowed himself to be placed in the position of Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Seward. If he had done so, it is a question that admits in my mind of grave doubt, whether, on the whole, we should, *as a nation*, have been any better off than we are to-day.

It is the fashion of some people to speak of the Administration as having been, and continuing to be, without any guiding policy, but I confess I am not of that opinion. It was only by a singular and unlooked for combination of circumstances and parties that Mr. Lincoln was elected. The number of his opponents was immense and influential. Immediately upon his inauguration, he found himself overwhelmed by the most unlooked for and terrible responsibilities. I do not think it strange, or, perhaps, unwise, that, in this state of things, he should decide to *follow* and not lead the national will. A man of immense genius, a Cromwell, a Bonaparte might have done otherwise, but these men had whatever advantage may reside in a revolutionary position, whereas it was the simple duty of the American President to make the avoidance of such a position one of his chief objects. That he has been unnecessarily timid and careful I do not deny. That the Emancipation might have been proclaimed at an earlier period and with excellent results to our arms, I certainly believe. I must at the same time remark that the withdrawal of the Border slave States, the resistance of the army, the resignation of army officers in multitudes, fighting in the streets of Northern cities, and the fulfilment of a variety of other prophecies, have not followed its proclamation. Whether they would all have done so, had Mr. Lincoln acted at an earlier period, it is impossible to say. At any rate, the work is now done. Three million slaves are freed, and men of all creeds and classes and politics have said Amen. Missouri is making arrangements for emancipation, and Mr. Holt of Kentucky, on whose nod we seemed to hang so long, approves of the proclamation and foretells the triumph of that policy in the next election in his State.

The writer whom we are considering says, "We will not deny the excellence of everybody's intentions who have had the direction of this war, on our side, but we think nobody can affirm that they have produced a harvest of success." At the present time the discussion of motive is not interesting. It is with results that the world concerns itself, and on those, the time has not yet come to sit authoritatively in judgment. When the President and the Secretary of State quit office, we can better decide what they have done or left undone. It seems to me that the Abolitionists should judge as gently as they may the men who, in the face of great opposition and reproach, both at home and abroad, have actually performed the work, for the accomplishment of which our life-long labors have been given. It seems to me an ungracious and fault-finding spirit that cries out the moment the proclamation has been issued, that it will not be carried out and that nothing has been done or is doing. There are two classes of people who should not see work half done. The Abolitionists surely belong to neither. Why not, then, wait in all the patience of hope till the natural results of this great measure show themselves, as they most assuredly will, in the deliverance of the slave, the subduing of the will of the master, who must, in the long run, yield to his circumstances, the amelioration of prejudice through the natural and necessary association of Northern soldiers with the negroes?

I fear I am occupying too much of your space, but I feel as if it were only an act of justice to refer to several inquiries which seem certainly not put in that spirit of charity that hopeth, not merely *all things*, but *anything*.

Our government, confuse matters as we may, is fighting, with anti-slavery written on every banner. With the cashiering of Fitz-John Porter just accomplished, and the resignation of other Generals just received, it would seem quite unnecessary, in addition to all other forebodings, to alarm the friends of freedom by any prophesying of Gen. McClellan's return, nor can I seriously believe that the writer had any such fear.

I consider the present a much less "awful moment" than any that preceded the Emancipation, and can therefore see no impropriety in the consideration by Congress of the financial affairs of the country. I only hope the nation and not the banks will make the profits.

As "for the despairing wail of Conway," I can but say, Thank God that only one man could be found so faithless or so foolish! What! when we have carried the citadel, shall we surrender? When the great work of emancipation is going forward, as we never could, in our most sanguine dreams have anticipated, shall we then yield up all that has been obtained at so dreadful a cost, with the childish statement that when we have lost all self-respect, and manhood and *prestige*, as we must do, before submitting to national dissolution, we could then fight our battle to greater advantage?

Why Seward is left "at the right hand of power" is a question sufficiently answered by his patriotic and statesmanlike reply to Monsieur Drouyn de l'Huys's proposal of intervention. The universal sympathy with that reply is a fresh pledge of our country's salvation. Let me remark in passing, that the positive statement that Mr. Seward sent the French minister to Richmond "to sound the depths and shallows of rebellion," seems but poorly borne out by Monsieur Mercier's statement "that it *almost seemed* as if Mr. Seward wished him to go, and that after he got there, Mr. Seward was quite willing he should tell the rebels that the Northern people had no desire for vengeance, and that Mr. Seward hoped some time or other to sit in Congress with representatives from Southern States!

I have but a few more words to add on a subject which is, I am sure, greatly misunderstood. It is in relation to the criticism employed in the anti-slavery journals respecting our government and statesmen. My attention has been drawn to this subject by the somewhat ludicrous surprise and consternation manifested by foreigners when the same unsparing criticism is applied to *their* governments and statesmen. The moral standard of the free States of the North is probably higher than that of any country upon earth: the moral standard of the Anti-Slavery Society is that of the Sermon on the Mount, and by that test have they tried their country and its politicians. Weighed in such balances, Lincoln and Seward are undoubtedly found wanting, but no more so than the Russells and Cavours, and far less so than the Persignys and the Palmerstons.

But the language uttered by many good people in America from one point of view is taken up by foreigners who employ quite another in respect to their own affairs, and quoted as proof not to be gainsayed of our national corruption. The confessions of national sin on the part of truly patriotic Americans in past years, should no more be taken *au pied de la lettre* than should similar confessions on the part of individuals. When an eminent saint admits that "all men are liars," no one dreams of impugning his personal veracity; and when philanthropists and reformers declare their country "a nation laden with iniquity," it is not that they consider the statement as more applicable to their own land than to others, but because they feel that it is their own national sins that especially demand their attention.

For thirty years the Abolitionists have cheerfully and courageously labored in faith: let them not now, when that faith has become sight, give place to despair.

W. H.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, Feb. 23, 1863.

For a week or two past, Boston has been as quiet as the region of the Potomac itself. There are rumors of movements carried on by Mr. Everett and his friends in aid of the proposed Peace Convention at Louisville, but these are kept as nearly secret as circumstances will permit. The plot, no doubt, is a good plot as ever was laid; the friends of it, for the present, true and constant, and moreover, full of expectation; but, in spite of the excellent plot, and the very good friends, there is this ill augury about it, that Mr. Everett, like Hotspur, always contrives to be on the losing side. Even his experience with Mr. Bell has not yet taught him to shun the society of traitors.

A pithy and spicy address "To the Men of Color" has been issued here by Elizur Wright, whose anti-slavery zeal of twenty years ago you no doubt remember. Presenting himself to them as "not a colonizationist or any other sort of know-nothing," he urges them to seize all opportunities, however ungraciously offered, of acquiring a practical knowledge of the military art. He suggests that half a loaf is much better than no bread, and advises them not to refuse learning with a musket because they are not yet allowed to learn with a sword; and he concludes with the intimation that it is their part to be ready, whenever a Joshua shall arise to lead them to the promised land of equal rights. It is true, no doubt, as Wendell Phillips said long since, that the United States uniform is a certificate of citizenship, and thus will be, North as well as South, an important stepping-stone in the upward march of our colored friends. But they, like the rest of mankind, must work out their own salvation. All the help which their friends can possibly give them will be only help, and cannot effect much without their own active exertions to the same end.

For ten days past there has been no official report made of the progress of enlistments among the colored people of this State, but it is understood that the work is progressing favorably. Our amiable *Courier* seems to fear that things are taking this direction, for it has lately printed a string of doggerel verses, describing at length the special characteristics popularly imputed to the colored race, and assuming, therefrom, the impossibility of negroes doing effective military service. Perhaps it may live long enough to have practical experience of the contrary.

Rev. Moncure D. Conway gave yesterday a very able discourse in the Music Hall, entitled "The Vacant Throne of Washington." Whatever of the ordinary elements or accompaniments of greatness might be wanting to the character of Washington, he judged him a truly great man from this consideration, that he triumphantly accomplished the special work which was providentially allotted to him. He was in reality, as he has ever since been popularly esteemed, the Savior of his Country. A crisis of similar magnitude now demands a work like that which he performed, but we find *no man*, in the stations of power and influence, adequate to the work. The people have not virtue enough, and even the best of their political leaders have not vigor enough, to push the reluctant President forward to the steps needed for the nation's safety. An adverse power in the Cabinet, at present the chief obstacle to such progress, must be removed before the needed movements can be made; if even *one* of the Republican leaders were bold enough to say, in his place in the Senate, what many of them say in private respecting the unworthiness of Mr. Seward, that functionary might be driven at once from the power which he misuses. One of these eminent gentlemen, being asked why *he* did not state the facts in question in the Senate, replied that if he were to do so, not half a dozen of his associates would support him. Fremont, who was present, exclaimed in reply, "Half a dozen! Three would be sufficient to make a revolution!"

The President seems as slow of apprehension as of movement. It is bad enough to leave Fremont unoccupied; but when a man with the peculiar talent of McClellan requests to be assigned to active service, at the very moment when the canal at Vicksburg requires to be deepened, what shall be said of the Commander-in-Chief who leaves the request disregarded?

Among the musical celebrities we have had in Boston this Winter is Camilla Urso, who deserves mention not only from her wonderful execution on the violin, but from the fact that she has given a good example to her sex by achieving high eminence in a department hitherto monopolized by men. Notwithstanding her youth, she stands in the same class with Ole Bull, Sivori and Vieux Temps, the best violinists we have had in this country. Born in France, of Italian parentage, she showed intense delight in music when only five years old, and chose the violin as her instrument through her special enjoyment of the playing of Ole Bull. After receiving the best musical training that Paris could afford, she made the tour of Germany when only eight years old, giving concerts under the direction of her father, and surprising all by the maturity as well as the skill of her performance. She came to this city more than ten years ago, associated herself with the best performers we ever had here (the Germania Musical Society), and gained great celebrity as the child-violinist. After travelling through the whole country, astonishing and delighting the lovers of music everywhere, she married a musician in Nashville, Tennessee, and settled there. The war, by destroying the property of her Southern husband, has caused her again to give public performances, and she reassumes, for this purpose, the name by which she first gained distinction as a player.

So small is Camilla's figure that she might still be taken for a child by those who witness her performance, were it not for her serious, thoughtful face, and the quiet dignity of her demeanor. It is as needful to see as to hear her, and a blind person would lose half the pleasure that her concerts give. One never sees in her that stereotyped, factitious smile, or that servile "'umbleness" in acknowledgment of applause, by which singers, players and actors often try to flatter their audience. Her movements, quietly graceful, show no desire to *display* grace, and an electric energy, when the music requires it, holds her audience in breathless admiration. She shows the very highest skill in execution, triumphing over all mechanical difficulties with apparent ease, but the most charming part of her playing is the production of pure, clear, simple tones, slow or quick, so soft and low as to require the stillest attention, and drawn out equably to a hair-like fineness. In this most difficult portion of the treatment of the violin, no artist has exceeded her, and even the unskilled hearer may judge of its merit, by seeing how intently she is watched by the musicians of the orchestra, when her solo-playing gives them an opportunity to look.

The Glasgow *Morning Journal* informs us of a good work done by a gentleman of Boston, long resident and in business in that city, Arthur F. Stoddard, Esq. The relatives of this gentleman have not distinguished themselves by opposition to slavery; but he, during his residence in Glasgow, has repeatedly given active evidence of his zeal in that direction. On the 28th ult. Mr. Stoddard gave a lecture on "The Civil War and American Slavery" in the Free High Church of Paisley. Provost Campbell occupied the chair, and on the platform were numbers of the officials of the town, of the Reverend clergy, and of the neighboring gentry. In an extended and very able address, Mr. Stoddard explained to his audience the causes, the justification, and the probable results of this terrible war. He skilfully exposed the false pretences which have been circulated in that country in excuse for the action of the Confederate States, sketched some of the more prominent facts illustrating the aggressive character of slavery, gave impressive details of the barbarous character of that institution, stated the reasons why slavery and freedom cannot permanently coexist, enumerated the steps towards freedom already accomplished by the war, and then made a vigorous statement of what is, and what should be, the relation of Great Britain to such a contest.

Applause repeatedly given during such a lecture, and a vote of thanks to the speaker after it, were matters of course from the men of Paisley, who have repeatedly given substantial proof of their interest in the cause of freedom, in spite of the check given to their industry by failure of the ordinary supply of cotton. But we have the greater satisfaction to know that, at the close of the lecture, a meeting of influential gentlemen took place in the vestry of the church, to take action for further eliciting the sentiments of the townsmen on the American question. A committee was appointed to arrange for a public meeting, and to frame resolutions to be then submitted to discussion.

The same paper gave information (received by telegraph) of a great meeting held on the 29th ult. at St. George's Hall, Bradford, to give the people of that town an opportunity of showing that they hated slavery with all their hearts, and sympathized with President Lincoln's efforts to sweep away "the cause of the war."

Our excellent friend Mr. W. E. Forster, M. P. for Bradford, who presided, made a stirring address, showing how, in spite of the effort of civil and military leaders in the United States to deal gently with slavery, events were compelling a position more and more directly antagonistic to that wickedness. His statements to that effect more than a year ago had been fully verified, and the same process was still going on.

On the evening after this meeting, the great Emancipation meeting was held in Exeter Hall, London. So we see that our friends in various parts of Great Britain are awake and active, taking their part in the movement for universal freedom.

North.

Our Washington Correspondence.

Washington, Feb. 21, 1863.

Gov. Curtin denies that *he* has any agency in getting up the new Seward party—the party of Union and compromise. His disclaimer should be received with confidence so far as he is concerned. It is a singular fact, however, that *The National Intelligencer* paraded the stories about the new party arrangements right under Mr. Seward's nose, and that, too, when it is known that the two editors and part proprietors of that journal are very intimate with the Secretary of State. Mr. Seaton is and has always been a favored, intimate friend of Secretary Seward. The two men eat at each other's table. They hob-nob together. Dr. Welling, the junior editor of the concern, is another admirer and intimate friend of the Secretary of State. Now, it is not a little strange that this staid old journal, which usually has a horror of all political and especially personal gossip, should intimate that Mr. Seward, Thurlow Weed, Gov. Curtin and others were combining against the radicals. It did so and in the following style:

"We hope, for the honor of all concerned, that this renewed attempt to 'press' the Executive in a direction contrary to his convictions of public duty may be abandoned. If the President should yield to such extraneous pressure, in a matter so intimately concerning his own legitimate functions, what vestige of respect for his office could be retained either by himself or the people? And when, as at present, the office of the President is magnified by the tremendous responsibilities of which he is the depository, it is surely no time to break down the muniments with which that office is hedged about in the organic law of the land, and in all the political traditions of the American people. *It is in this view that we are more disposed to accept as just the horoscope drawn by a neutral contemporary of New York*—we allude to *The Sun* of that city—which, in its number of the 11th instant, says,

"'The news from Washington indicates that Mr. Seward is master of the situation. He has not merely spiked the cannon of the radicals, but has succeeded in turning it against them. The Senators who a few weeks ago conspired to drive him from the Cabinet now feel the power they have heretofore wielded slipping from their hands.

"'The retirement from the Albany *Evening Journal* of the old Warwick of Presidents and parties, Thurlow Weed, and his formal abandonment of the heresies of his old political associates, followed as it was by the election of Gov. Morgan, were startling evidences to the radicals of the strength of the new power which is even yet wholly unorganized. Since then the movement has been gathering volume and strength. Gov. Curtin has lent the new conservative party the aid of his popularity in Pennsylvania, and is to contest that State at the approaching election in its interest.'"

This may all be very unjust to Mr. Seward, but I am not pressing that point now, but it certainly is one of the significant events of the time that such a journal, under such circumstances, should publish such an article in its editorial columns. It certainly proves satisfactorily that some of Mr. Seward's intimate friends are anxiously at work trying to get up a great Conservative party which shall include moderate Republicans and moderate Democrats—Abolitionists and copperheads not being wanted in the new organization. The denial of Gov. Curtin, by the way, is not injurious. It is a well-known fact that the friends of John Covode were preparing to nominate him as the next Republican candidate for Governor in Pennsylvania. Covode is *not* a Seward man, but is a radical. A week or two ago, the friends of Gov. Curtin announced that he had finally given his consent to run again for the governorship! It is idle to deny, therefore, that Mr. Curtin represents the milk-and-water Republicanism in Pennsylvania, while Covode stands by the Republicanism of another sort—the anti-slavery sort.

Mr. Seward is said still to be a warm friend to Gen. McClellan and believes in his loyalty and great military abilities. I can say confidently, however, that the President does *not* have faith in McClellan's generalship; and since the day that General was removed from the command of the Army of the Potomac he has had no more idea of calling him back to his old place than he has of putting Fernando Wood at the head of one of our armies, or appointing Ben Wood Military Governor of one of the conquered States.

Mr. Seward has a singular faculty of making friends among all classes of people, and this may be the solution of certain difficulties respecting his conduct. Cox of Ohio, a villainous defamer of New England, is his warm personal friend and defender in Congress.

After all, events are so much greater than men that it will be impossible for any set of men to manufacture a new party while the war progresses. If the war is a success and the South is beaten, the compromisers will slink off to the holes from which they have crawled. It will finish them, and Mr. Lincoln will stand a very respectable chance to be his own successor in the Presidential chair. But if we make more blunders and at last stumble to ruin, the compromisers can do nothing, for then the South will refuse to listen to their terms. Let the result be as it may, it is not going to be easy work to form a new party, founded upon the principles of Thurlow Weed, though it is well enough for sagacious anti-slavery men to be on their guard.

There was an animating passage in the debate in the Senate a few days since. A Republican Senator had been attacking Richardson of Illinois (and very properly) for his sympathies with the rebels, and in the debate Buchanan and his Cabinet came up for a scourging. This was Richardson's opportunity, and he improved it as follows:

"Who is your Secretary of War to-day? He was one of those men who stood arrayed against me in the fight of two years ago; the private, confidential friend of that Administration which you say was hostile to the government; seeking to destroy it and to overthrow it. You talk to me about standing by and sustaining Buchanan and his Cabinet? I tell you you are doing it; you have been doing it from the first; you are doing it now. Where did Mr. Stanton come from? Fresh from Buchanan's Cabinet, concerting and advising the acts of his Administration of which you complain."

The subjoined colloquy then took place:

Mr. Lane, of Kansas—Does not the Senator from Illinois know that Mr. Stanton was anxious to relieve Fort Sumter and to send forces to hold the forts of Charleston harbor?

Mr. Richardson—I do not expect that the Senator from Kansas knows it.

Mr. Rice—Nobody knows it.

Mr. Richardson—I have no idea that he was. This Administration stands as the successor to Buchanan's Administration by taking all his Cabinet except those in rebellion into their support and confidence, and indorsing every act of Buchanan's Administration during the last ninety days of that Administration. Now, let me run over that.

Mr. Howard—Will the Senator from Illinois allow me to say one word?

Mr. Richardson—Certainly.

Mr. Howard—I interrupt the Senator, sir, to do justice to a member of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet in the person of a gentleman of distinction of my own State, and who for long years cooperated with the party to which the Senator from Illinois belongs. I refer, sir, to Gen. Cass; and I feel it to be a duty upon this occasion, due from me to him, and due to the country, to say that it is within my knowledge that Gen. Cass, during that troublesome period to which allusion has been made, did all in his power, and made every effort, so far as depended upon him, to induce President Buchanan to relieve Fort Sumter and to take measures to protect the government property there, and to prevent the rebellion from breaking out. It is due, sir, to Gen. Cass that I should make this observation.

Mr. Rice—He showed his honesty by resigning; the others did not.

Here were some very hard hits at—somebody. Mr. Stanton and Mr. Seward certainly come in for a share. But the trouble with Richardson is that he forgets that men have the right to progress in their views—to go *on* rather than *backward*, and if Mr. Stanton was a Buchanan man once, he is a war Democrat, and an anti-slavery one at that, now. He now desires to set every slave free, and to arm every slave if necessary. It matters little what he once did or thought. Mr. Seward was *once* a leader in anti-slavery politics. He actually foretold the war by the announcement of his doctrine of an irrepressible conflict between slavery and liberty, and yet in view of it he advised, nay, earnestly exhorted, the voters of the North to stand by their anti-slavery principles. *That* is of little consequence now. The important question now is whether Mr. Seward stands by his old doctrines to-day—is he an honest anti-slavery man at this hour? If he is, God bless him, and he will bless him and forgive his blunders!

Congress is progressing very well with the important legislation of the country. The Democrats do not like the idea of resorting to filibustering to prevent legislation, or rather they dare not resort to it. They are determined to have the chance of debating everything, and this is fair enough. Reasonable debate nobody can object to, unless it be within two or three days of the close of the session and Congress.

There has not been a good disposition in the House to give Mr. Chase a fair chance with his financial policy. Too many of the members are in the interest of the banks, and I fear that some of them who pass for pretty good Republicans would hesitate some time before giving their votes for a measure which might possibly injure the country banks, even if they were confident that by giving such a vote the government would be greatly strengthened, and the country at large benefitted. Men, especially members of Congress, are selfish. On the whole, however, the majority in Senate and House have acted generously and patriotically this Winter.

Avon.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

Philadelphia, Feb. 23, 1863.

Your leader of last week contains some suggestions which should be turned at once to practical account. Speaking of the machinations of the Copperhead Democracy, you say: "Measures should be planned and carried out, and that speedily, to prevent this covert treason from breaking out into open action. * * * This is the first duty that demands the attention of every true and loyal man. * * * By-gones should be by-gones; the best should be made of the means we have. * * * The nation does not mean to be killed in open fight, nor yet to be murdered by assassins from behind. And it is the business of all having *weight of actual power or of direct influence* to see to it that this crime is not accomplished through their negligence or cowardice."

These propositions will have commanded the prompt assent of all your readers. But this is not enough. They should be reduced to practice. How shall this be done? Thus:

Your suggestion addresses itself to two classes: First, to those of your readers who are Cabinet Ministers, Senators and Representatives, Governors of States and officers of the Army and Navy. Such have the "weight of actual power," and I trust your exhortation to them will be duly heeded. That it will be, at least to an extent, the evidence of the past leaves no reason to doubt. The Anti-Slavery Standard is now an admitted power, outside as well as inside of anti-slavery circles; or rather the anti-slavery area is now so extended as to include men and dignities that used to be outside the range of its direct influence. These constitute the first class to whom you appeal; the second comprises all the rest of your readers. For we all have influence, more or less, direct and indirect. The duty of acting directly upon those with whom we come in contact, and who stand upon our level, is acknowledged by all; but that of influencing those above us and at a distance from us, is supposed to be the prerogative of a privileged few. This is a mistake. Popular government moves upon wheels that are within wheels. The humblest citizen that will put his shoulder to one of these can make his power felt. In a political system such as ours, a portion of sovereignty attaches to each individual. The motions of the machine receive their impulse and direction from innumerable unseen forces. It is the right and duty of Abolitionists to make part of these forces. If they don't, others, less competent, will.

There is no need that we should stand in awe of men whom chance, or favor, or mayhap merit, has placed in power. To say that they are men like ourselves is doing some of them more than justice. The people who stand around them, advising, admonishing, entreating, are not of a class that modesty should oblige us to give place to. If any one doubts on this point, let him go to Washington or to Harrisburg; let him measure the calibre of the men in place and the moral elevation of the people in the lobby. If he do not return with another feeling than that of profound deference, his experience will be different from that of most who have gone before him.

It is not necessary, however, to go in person to Washington or to Harrisburg in order to exert this "indirect influence." By most it can be done better at home. We can make ourselves felt at a distance without leaving our regular beats. We can do this through our representatives, whom we can write to, and to whom we can induce others to write; through our editors; and by all the

—till lately impossible—is now invited. Opportunities—social, moral and political—of promoting the cause are freely offered, and it is the duty of Abolitionists to accept them. Mr. Garrison, like Mr. Phillips, should "go upon change," and be seen in the busy haunts of men. That is, he should, as much as he can consistently with other duties, mingle with people of all classes and all kinds, and enter wherever he finds an open door. Though a non-resistant, and by his peculiar views on that subject, disfranchised, he has as good a right at Washington—there to counsel and enlighten, to see and be seen—as any other man, and it would afford many friends of the cause pleasure to hear of his feeling it his duty to exercise that right.

There are others who, as representatives of proscribed and disfranchised classes, might also exert a good influence by a visit to the seat of our national government. Mr. Robert Purvis, for instance, who declared at a recent public meeting that he was "proud of being an American citizen"; why would it not be a good thing for Mr. Purvis to go to Washington, and there—while gracefully acknowledging his indebtedness to the government for rights conceded—remind them that their duty to the proscribed class yet lacks something of complete fulfilment?

Lucretia Mott also—if the state of her health were not such as to prevent—would do well to revisit a city where, on former occasions, her labors were attended with such evidences of success. If, when the ruling influences there were hostile, and surrounding circumstances most inauspicious, her public discourses were listened to with deference and her private suggestions with respect, how much more would this be the case now when the whole aspect of things there has undergone a complete change?

In specifying the names of Mr. Purvis and Mrs. Mott, I would not be understood as implying any invidious comparison between them and others equally entitled to represent the classes to which they respectively belong. I mention them because they stand near me, and their names are the first to suggest themselves. Perhaps, in candor, I ought to add that I also think them both peculiarly qualified by their endowments for a work of this kind. Good people often undertake, with a hearty good will, duties for which neither nature nor grace has fitted them.

The "*comme il faut*" of society, as a help to a layman's usefulness, is not to be despised; and talent without tact in a minister is not good "preparation" for success in certain lines of duty.

From what one hears it is plainly inferable that there has been at Washington a great waste of good intention for want of good management. Let the following illustrate:

An officer under the government called one day at the Executive mansion, accompanied by a clerical friend. "Mr. President," said he, "allow me to present to you my friend, the Rev. Mr. F. of ——. Mr. F. has expressed a desire to see you and have some conversation with you, and I am happy to be the means of introducing him." The President shook hands with Mr. F., and desiring him to be seated, took a seat himself. Then—his countenance having assumed an expression of patient waiting—he said: "I am now ready to hear what you have to say." "O bless you, sir," said Mr. F., "I have nothing especial to say. I merely called to pay my respects to you, and, as one of the million, to assure you of my hearty sympathy and support." "My dear sir," said the President, rising promptly—his face showing instant relief, and with both hands grasping that of his visitor, "I am very glad to see you; I am *very* glad to see you, indeed. *I thought you had come to preach to me!*"

I have sometimes fancied that if some of our unappeasable friends of the "extreme left" knew all that Mr. Lincoln had to pass through, they would have more bowels for the unfortunate man. From what we hear it is plain that between Radical and Conservative, Presbyterian and Quaker, Anti-Slavery and Pro-Slavery, the President must have been in the last eighteen months preached to within an inch of his life. From a ministering angel like Mrs. Mott, however, he would have nothing to fear.

Abolitionists would in one respect have the advantage over other people in their efforts to influence action at the seat of government: that is in the admitted disinterestedness of their motives. They don't want office, and everybody knows it. When they visit Washington they are not suspected of coming for either place or pelf. All they want is that the government should do its best possible for the country, and for all the people thereof. If they will only do this, they may bestow on whom they will their honors and emoluments. This makes an out and out Abolitionist, other things beirg equal, a more influential man, in the anterooms of power, than any one else who, however anti-slavery may be his sentiments, has an axe of his own to grind, or a personal interest in the measures he comes to advocate.

Another means of "indirect influence" is that of encouraging combinations—moral, social and political—for the support of the government. In this city there have lately been organized clubs and other associations, the qualification of membership being unconditional loyalty; and the object—the defeat of the reptile plotters who are cooperating with the South for the overthrow of the Union. One of those, called the "Union League," though but a few weeks in existence, and requiring the payment of $50 on entrance—the admission fee being $25 and the annual tax in advance $25 more—already embraces upwards of 500 members. It is contemplated to start similar organizations—not similarly expensive, however—all over the country. In no other way, it is believed, can the enemy be successfully dealt with. These clubs, or leagues, or whatever they may be called, will bring the friends of the government acquainted with each other. They will tend to fuse into a common mass those who are loyal to Freedom, and to give them strength and efficiency for the work before them.

The Copperheads owe their present strength to the completeness of their organizations. They have their dens in every ward of the city and every town in the country. An organized minority can do the work of a majority when their opponents act without concert. The friends of the government, not anticipating a fire in the rear, had made no provision against such a contingency. While they slept the enemy sowed tares. The cockatrice's egg was hatched, and look what a brood of reptiles! Their heads must be bruised; and this can only be done by organization. Let the Abolitionists, while they perform their whole duty to the Societies to which they already belong, not withhold their aid, by word and act, from the work of establishing new organizations all over the land.

Before closing allow me to say, for the benefit of your readers hereaway, that we are to have in this city, on Monday evening, March 9th, what we have long desired, a lecture from our old-time co-laborer and ever faithful friend, THEODORE D. WELD. In his letter fixing the time of his coming, Mr. Weld, with characteristic modesty, says:

"Let me suggest that a small hall, probably a very small one, will be ample to accommodate all who will want to attend. As I died out of the *speaking* world nearly thirty years ago, and before that never spoke in Philadelphia, nor nearer to it than Pittsburg, and am not known there only by name, beyond a couple of dozen of familiar friends, a hall thirty feet by seventy will doubtless give a wide berth to each sitter."

Our friend is mistaken. It will take a larger hall than that to accommodate all who will want to see and hear him. For though it is "nearly thirty years" since he withdrew from the stage as a public lecturer, he left a reputation behind him which has preserved his name in honored remembrance, and made his oratorical triumphs a tradition in every anti-slavery family. If nothing untoward happen to prevent our friends from turning out, he will have, when he comes, a good hearing. M.

THE Oberlin (O.) *News* pays us the compliment of saying: "The very best journal in the land for facts, arguments, and incidents, connected with the now National Anti-Slavery movement is the THE STANDARD, published at New York. We recommend it with the fullest confidence." We are grateful for such commendation, spontaneously bestowed, and only wish it might have the effect to increase our circulation among those who need the "facts, arguments and incidents" embodied in our columns. We have many gratifying proofs that this paper is highly esteemed by its readers generally, and we venture to remind them that, in the present altered state of the public mind, it may not be as difficult as it once was to induce their neighbors to subscribe for it.

OBITUARY.

WE announced last week, in a few words, the bereavement of our friends Marius and Emily Robinson in the loss of their only child by death. We now give place to an obituary sketch from a friend:

SALEM, O., Feb. 16, 1863.

It is my painful duty to record one of those melancholy bereavements that come sometimes upon happy familics like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. Death has rudely entered the sweet home of Marius and Emily Robinson, and laid his stern arrest on Girty, their darling daughter. She died on the 6th inst. She was in good health a few days before her death. Never were kind parents blest with a more affectionate, loving and lovely daughter. It may truly be said of her that she never uttered an unkind word to any one. She was their light, their life, their joy, their solace. Her departure has made earth one angel less, and heaven one more. For her I mourn not. She has passed from a lower to a higher sphere. She now has all the happiness her nature is capable of enjoying, and that is a great deal. But it is for her stricken parents my heart bleeds. Their lives were bound up in her life. I have never seen grief more poignant than theirs. Well may they exclaim, in the pathetic language of the weeping poet, "Behold and see if there be any sorrow compared to our sorrow." Theirs is now a house of mourning. Theirs is a grief that many years will not assuage. The many mementoes she left behind, her easel, her paintings, finished and unfinished (for she bid fair to become a proficient in that art), as they will daily see them, hung where she placed them, will start afresh the fountains of their sorrow. But blessed hope! for all those days of bitter anguish there is a blissful cordial in the immortal future. What rapturous joy will thrill their souls when they shall meet this loved one in the spirit-land. A thrice blessed compensation for all their present grief. Those deep affections, those sweet and holy ties that knit their souls in one, shall (if possible) be greatly intensified in the celestial mansion of the spirit's home.

This being my faith (nay, not faith, but assurance), I would say to these sorrowing parents, hard as this bereavement is, it will soon, very soon, be turned into triumphant joy. "The heavier the cross, the brighter the crown," is heaven's order. So will they surely find it. Eternity is long. Endless progression in purity, love, and knowledge, is ecstatic. I add no more.

FREEMASONRY, SOUTH AND NORTH.

MANSFIELD, Mass., Feb. 16, 1863.

IN the Boston *Journal* of last evening is an article, headed "Masonic," which says:

"Information has been received in New York from Richmond that the Grand Lodge of Virginia, recently in session there, rescinded the resolution adopted by that body in 1860, forbidding intercourse with the Masons under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of New York, thus again uniting in the bonds of fraternity the brethren of the two jurisdictions. This is an important sign of public feeling in Secessia. It may not go very far indeed toward the restoration of amicable relations between North and South, but as far as it does go, it is significant."

"It is significant," says *The Journal*.

Significant of what? Why did not *The Journal* speak out and tell what it is *significant of*? I will state my opinion. It is either that the Masons of Virginia have become *friendly* to the North, or that the New York Masons have become *friendly* to the South. It cannot be the former, therefore it must be the latter. Does not the late Democratic Copperhead movement in New York and throughout the country go to show that?

In fact, secret societies are *dangerous* in a free country. The "Knights of the Golden Circle" are a secret order, got up by Southern slaveholders, to *preserve, extend* and *perpetuate* slavery everywhere, whose members are *sworn* to be *faithful* to perform all that. No doubt but Gen. McClellan and Gen. Lee are both Freemasons, if not belonging to the "Knights of the Golden Circle." It is said that many military officers of our army belong to the latter secret order. Does not this account for our *failure* in conquering the rebels? Does not the reunion of the Masons of Virginia and New York indicate a secret conspiracy to destroy the Republican party, and put an end to all abolition and liberty in the country?

Most respectfully yours, ISAAC STEARNS.

PERSONAL.

Capt. Robert G. Shaw, of the Masschusetts 2d, has been appointed Colonel, and Capt. N. P. Hallowell, of the Massachusetts 20th, Lieut.-Colonel of the Massachusetts 54th, the new colored regiment. These are excellent appointments.

A Washington letter writer says that Cassius M. Clay has finally determined to abandon his Major-General's commission and return to Russia. He will probably start in a short time, and will at once relieve Bayard Taylor, who has been Acting Minister since Mr. Cameron's departure. Mr. Taylor will not remain as Secretary of Legation after Mr. Clay's arrival.

The widow of the late Senator Douglas has written a letter relative to the reports that she was about to be married again. The following extract is published: "Although I live so quietly, the world seems determined to talk about me. I have been disturbed by rumors that I am engaged. I hope you will think enough of me not to allow any one ever to say such a thing to you without resentment."

A few days since, a fire broke out in St. Lawrence Hall, Montreal. The Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, American Consul-General, occupied apartments in that portion of the building near the fire, and though awakened as quickly as possible, before he could escape, became insensible from the effects of the vapor and smoke, and was carried for safety to another part of the hotel. Subsequently he fully recovered from the effects of the vapor.

Among the first who enrolled themselves in the company now being recruited in New Bedford by Lieut. Grace, was Ephraim Delany, a man but a few years since a slave on the eastern shore of Maryland. The money to purchase his freedom was advanced by a gentleman of this city, and Delany has since been steadily in his employ endeavoring to repay this amount. He has now devoted himself to the work of discharging an older debt—the debt of a lifetime of oppression in human slavery.

And this—says the Washington correspondent of the Springfield *Republican*—reminds me of a story told of Gen. Butler. "I will not go back to New Orleans," says the General, "unless I can have more troops. Why can't you give me more?" "We haven't them to give," replies Mr. Lincoln. "Then why don't you raise more—put the draft upon New York!—raise that forty thousand who should have been raised in that State last Fall!" "Mr. Seymour says it will not do to draft in New York," answers Lincoln. "*Then I would draft Seymour!*" asserts Butler. I will not vouch for the truth of this story, but I have heard it from lips that rarely tell anything that is not true, and it sounds very like Butler, and I must confess not unlike Mr. Lincoln.

The correspondent of *The Tribune*, under date Turin, Jan. 27, says:

"Garibaldi's wound begins at last to heal. He walks already upon crutches, and may in a month or two fully recover. But if his recovery is slow, it is, at least, to be complete. His surgeons are satisfied that not the slightest trace of lameness will remain. It is probable that the hero is to pay a visit to England in the Spring, unless the success of the Polish revolution should rouse the spirit of liberty all over the Continent of Europe, and give the Italians a fair chance for trying once more their good luck in an attack upon Austria."

The following letter was addressed some short time back by Garibaldi from Caprera to a young Russian girl who had sent him her portrait:

MY DEAR CHILD: You ask me for a word of sympathy for Russia, the country of your birth. Our Savior was born on the banks of the river Jordan, and when he proclaimed that all men are brothers he did not ask whether their birthplace was on the banks of the Neva or those of the Vistula. The Russians are, therefore, our brothers, because I have seen that the same sun ripens the fine grapes of Italy and the splendid corn in the immense fields of your native land. I affectionately kiss your forehead. GARIBALDI.

Says the Washington correspondent of the Springfield *Republican*:

"The fact is Seward is a sphinx. Nobody understands him, not even his best friends. I know men in his department, who are earnest Abolitionists, and who have been such for fifteen years, and they have at this hour as much confidence in the anti-slavery integrity of Mr. Seward as they ever had. They do not doubt him in the least, but explain his curious conduct by saying 'Oh, Mr. Seward is shrewd, he befogs friends and enemies occasionally, but if you watch him carefully, he takes good care never to bring dishonor upon the cause which he espoused in his early manhood!' Perhaps that is satisfactory, but I happen to notice almost daily that such copperheads as Cox of Ohio are on the best of terms with Mr. Seward. When Roscoe Conkling of Utica objected the other day in the House to the raising of Fred Seward's salary as Assistant Secretary of State to $4,000, who should get up and defend the appropriation but Sunset Cox! The Border State slaveholders all seem to like Mr. Seward, now, though they used to hate him three years ago badly enough. Mr. Seward's intimate friends say that he hoodwinks *somebody*, but that it isn't the Republicans, and they bring up as conclusive proof of that the fact that when it came to the proper time, he backed up the Emancipation proclamation. But *The Intelligencer* keeps hinting that the proclamation was issued rather to show its futility than otherwise. The only conclusion is that Mr. Seward is shrewd and cunning, and probably knows very well what he is about, though nobody else does."

Proceedings of Congress.

In the Senate on the 19th, the bill granting a pension to the widow of the late Rev. Arthur B. Fuller was passed. On the 20th the bill providing a temporary government for the Territory of Arizona was passed, and bills were reported allowing the people of Nevada, Nebraska and Colorado to organize State governments, preparatory for admission to the Union. On the same day Mr. Wilson (Rep., Mass.) made a powerful speech denouncing treason and traitors at the North. [We hope to find room for a part of it next week.] On Monday Mr. Willey (Un., Va.) presented a resolution from the Constitutional Convention of West Virginia, accepting the Constitution as amended by Congress, and also resolutions asking for an appropriation in compensation for the emancipation of slaves in West Virginia. Mr. Richardson (Dem., Ill.), on the same day, made the best reply he could to the speech delivered by Mr. Wilson, on Saturday, but only succeeded in getting a sound flagellation from the Massachusetts Senator.

In the House on the 19th, the joint resolution expelling ex-Senator Badger from the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, for his giving aid and comfort to the enemy, and appointing Prof. Louis Agassis to fill his place, was adopted. On the 20th the National Currency bill (previously passed by the Senate) was passed, yeas 77, nays 64. On the 21st, the Post Office Reform bill was passed, 72 yeas, 56 nays. An amendment was made, providing that all soldiers in camp and hospital shall receive and transport letters free of postage. The Senate bill to prevent correspondence with the rebels was also passed. It provides that if any person being a citizen of the United States and residing in a foreign country, or any citizen thereof, without permission of the government of the United States, and with the intent to defeat the measures of the government, shall, either directly or indirectly, open any correspondence or intercourse with the pretended rebel government, or any individual acting or sympathizing therewith, or shall counsel or assist in such proceedings, shall be deemed guilty of high misdemeanor, and on conviction, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $10,000, and imprisonment not less than six months nor more than five years.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

CORRESPONDENCE on the Present Relations between Great Britain and the United States of America. Pp. 153. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

In this elegantly printed pamphlet we have a correspondence upon the Slaveholders' Rebellion and the action thereupon of the British government and people, between an English and an American lawyer—Edwin M. Field, Esq., of London, and Charles G. Loring, Esq., of Boston. It has been printed by the advice of gentlemen, who, having seen it in manuscript, were of opinion that such a frank interchange of views, entertained by individuals on either side, possessing similar means of somewhat extensive information, entertaining each for the other cordial esteem, and entirely free from any preexisting national prejudices or ill-will which would unfavorably temper the discussion, might aid in the formation of correct opinions upon the painful relations subsisting between the people of England and the people of the loyal States of America in reference to the rebellion. Mr. Field's letters in support of the British side of the question are brief, while those of Mr. Loring comprise an elaborate, though by no means an exhaustive, defence of the United States in her efforts to put down the rebellion. The former writes like a strong man who, though not wanting in patriotism, means to be just to the people of the United States, but who, for the want of time or inclination to study closely the questions at issue, has formed his conclusions upon superficial grounds; while the latter, with the advantage of a thorough acquaintance with the subject in all its various bearings, and filled with anxiety for the honor and the welfare of his country, plies his friend with arguments alike unanswered and unanswerable. The discussion cannot fail to do good in England just in proportion as it finds readers. It is clear, however, that Mr. Loring is no radical. His views of slavery are those of a "conservative," who has not yet discovered that the Right way is the Safe way, and who dreads the consequences of immediate emancipation. It is to be hoped that he and the class to which he belongs will ere long get light upon this question.

THE NATIONAL ALMANAC AND ANNUAL RECORD for 1863. Pp. 700. Philadelphia: G. W. CHILDS. New York: C. T. Evans, Broadway.

This is an admirable work in its design, and, so far as we can discover, in its execution. Its seven hundred pages are crowded with statistics, lucidly set forth, on the following among other topics, viz: The Coast Survey; The Smithsonian Institution; Insanity and Hospitals for the Insane; Iron-clad War Vessels; The Executive Government of the United States; Departments of State, War, Navy, Treasury, Post Office, Interior; Judiciary; Congress; Excise Tax; The New Tariff; The Growth of the States; The Census of 1860; The Individual States and Territories; Education in the United States; Religious Statistics of the World; Foreign Countries, etc. Then we have a very careful Abstract of the Laws passed at the second session of the 36th and the first and second sessions of the 37th Congress; a Record of Important Events of the War from its commencement to the end of 1862, with a list of all the Battles fought therein, the place and time of each, with the number of killed and wounded on both sides—filling 80 closely printed pages; American Obituaries for 1861 and 1862; List of Books published in the United States in 1862. The information is, as far as possible, brought down to the end of the last year. It meets a very general want, and we hope it may become an established annual, receiving such improvements from year to year as experience may suggest.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW for January (L. Scott & Co.'s American Edition, 38 Walker St.) contains nine articles, with the following titles: Peru; Institutes for Working Men; Constitutional Government in Russia; New Testament; The Ticket of Leave System; South Kensington Museum and Loan Exhibition; Life of John Wilson; The Stanhope Miscellanies; Four Years of a Reforming Administration. The American Question, for this quarter, is passed by without a word; a sign, perhaps, of a reaction in British opinion from the fierce partizanship for the South heretofore exhibited.

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE for January (American Edition, L. Scott & Co., 38 Walker St.) opens with "A Month's Visit to the Confederate Headquarters," by an English Officer. It is full of bitterness and misrepresentation toward the North, and of apologies for Southern treason and rebellion. The other articles in the number are—Caxtonians, Part XII.; Progress in China; Chronicles of Carlingford—Salem Chapel—concluded; Mr. Thomas Trollope's Italian Novels; A Sketch from Babylon; Belligerent Rights at Sea, and the Changes proposed in them.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for March is a very good number. We give a list of the articles: Christopher North, by Joseph Dana Howard; "Choose ye this Day Whom ye will Serve," by Oliver Wendell Holmes; The Horrors of San Domingo, by John Weiss; a London Suburb, by Nathaniel Hawthorne; The Vagabonds, by J. T. Trowbridge; Willie Wharton, by Mrs. L. Maria Child; A Call to My Countrywomen, by Gail Hamilton; The True Church, by Theodore Tilton; Under the Pear Tree, by Mrs. Hopkinson; The last Cruise of the Monitor, by Grenville M. Weeks; The Darkened House, by Julia Ward Howe; America the Old World, by Prof. Louis Agassiz; Pericles and President Lincoln, by Henry M. Alden; Reviews and Literary Notices.

Mr. Tilton's poem—one of the best, in our opinion, that *The Atlantic* ever published—will be found on the fourth page.

☞ Copies of the photographic picture, by ALLEN, of the Music Hall stage, in Boston, as arranged for the 29th Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary, may be obtained by application to ROBERT F. WALLCUT, 221 Washington Street, Boston. Price, one dollar.

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR MRS. GAGE.

WE have received, since last acknowledgment, the following contributions in response to the appeal of Mrs. Frances D. Gage for clothing for the Freedmen under her care at Paris Island, S. C.

Box of clothing from friends in New Bedford, Mass.
Box of clothing from Hopedale, Mass.

Eliza M. Cloud, Elkton, Md.,	$5 00
Friends in Hopedale, Mass.,	30 00
Benjamin Ballard, Lancaster, Grant Co., Wis.,	1 00
Cash,	50

Persons who send packages of clothing should send a careful inventory of the articles; otherwise, they have all to be repacked here, the necessity of guarding against the shipment of goods contraband of war compelling the government officials to refuse all packages, the contents of which are not described.

We are able, with the money furnished us, to buy materials at wholesale prices, and to get those materials made into garments without cost.

Packages (the sender paying express charges) may be directed to Oliver Johnson, Anti-Slavery Rooms, 48 Beekman street, New York.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News.

There are reports from rebel sources that Vicksburg has been captured, but we fear they are not trustworthy. The latest authentic news is to the 18th, when active hostilities commenced.

The Washington correspondent of *The Herald* says: "It is stated that Gen. Daniel Ullmann, of New York, is to command a negro brigade in Louisiana. He goes out there with a complete set of white officers for two regiments, the rank and file to be raised from the contrabands. A son of Vice-President Hamlin is to be one of the Colonels, and the visit of the Vice President down East is said to be for the purpose of arranging the organization of these regiments."

We trust the Senate will promptly confirm the President's nomination of Gen. John W. Phelps of Vermont as a Major-General of the Union Army. It will be recollected that he resigned a few months since, disgusted at the methods for prosecuting the war. He will now find a congenial and useful field for his military ability in some of the Southern States.

Says the Washington correspondent of *The Tribune*: "The statement that Gen. Butler has been reassigned to the Department of the Gulf is premature. No such determination has yet been arrived at. The opposition from the State Department is still unrelenting."

The Richmond *Examiner* of the 21st inst. contains a dispatch, dated Port Hudson, Feb. 18, announcing the report of the capture of the Queen of the West, the United States gunboat which recently run the rebel batteries at Vicksburg. She was attacked by the fortifications on Red River, and, after a brisk cannonading, struck her colors. Thirteen of the officers and crew were captured. All the others are said to have escaped, but the accounts are confused, and it is difficult to make out the real facts.

It having been frequently reported to Gen. Rosecrans that Confederate soldiers approach our lines dressed in our uniforms, and that they have appeared thus in battle, and have even, savage like, carried our colors to deceive us, he has issued an order declaring "that none so dressed receive, when captured, the rights of prisoners of war, and that, in battle, no quarter be given them. When captured singly or in squads, prowling about our lines, they shall be deemed as spies and treated accordingly."

Says the Washington correspondent of the N. Y. *Times*: "It has been ascertained that the charges made against Gen. Steele, that he was in the habit of delivering over to their disloyal masters fugitive slaves who escaped into his lines, are absolutely false. The charges against Gen. Steele originated with the disloyal slave-owners themselves, who, by this means, hoped to have him supplanted by some other General who would be more subservient to them."

Joseph Nichols, First Lieutenant Nineteenth Maine Volunteers, has been tried by Court-martial at Falmouth, and convicted of conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline, in having tendered his resignation when in front of the enemy, on the ground that he regarded the President's Emancipation Proclamation as inexpedient and unconstitutional, and in consequence could not conscientiously serve under it. He was sentenced to be dismissed *with* his pay and allowances. The sentence was disapproved by Major-Gens. Couch and Sumner as too lenient, and the latter "*earnestly recommends that this officer shall be dishonorably dismissed the service, with the loss of all pay and allowances.*" By direction of the President, the above recommendation is approved, and will be immediately carried into effect.

The Army and the Negroes.

EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

CONTRABANDS AT MEMPHIS.—The correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, writing from Memphis, Jan. 26, says: "There are not less than seven thousand homeless and friendless negroes in this city, brought here from Northern Mississippi and Southern Tennessee. They are housed or huddled together in sheds and buildings vacated for their accommodation—like cattle in railroad cars. A more dirty, ragged and squalid lot of creatures can scarcely be found in the wilds of Borneo. And they have no ambition, save to excel each other in laziness, and—pardon the expression—lousiness. The sexes are indiscriminately mixed—men, women and children—who saw each other for the first time when herded together for the enjoyment of the blessings of liberty. Occasionally some of the male darkies are called upon to work, but the majority of them, at least during such weather as the present, do nothing but eat, sleep, and crawl about the buildings in which they live. "Intelligent contrabands" are very scarce among them. Now and then you will meet one who has been a house-servant, or waiter, and who knows a little of what is going on in the outer world, but they are nearly all common field-hands, whose knowledge is confined to the use of the hoe and the plow.

Citizens of Memphis say that a great many of the negroes now under government protection here, are anxious to return to their masters, but I doubt it. I have not seen one among them who looked as if he would be willing to return to a state of labor, compulsory or otherwise. Like Pope's "Poor Indian," to be content's their natural desire. Give them something to eat and to wear, and a place to sleep in, and they will experience an unenviable contentment born of ignorance and indolence.

The small-pox is making sad havoc among the Ethiopian refugees at present, and fears were expressed in the City Board of Aldermen, a few days ago, that it would become epidemic.

BREAKING UP OF THE SLAVE SYSTEM.—Letters from North Carolina speak of the large numbers of slaves that have recently come within our lines. The recent expedition of Gen. Amory's brigade into a portion of the State not before visited, brought back some two hundred contrabands, who abandoned everything for the prospect of freedom. One case was quite affecting. A fine-looking slave, by the injustice of the slave code, was separated from his wife last April. She was torn from his cabin and sold to service upon a distant plantation. When the news of the freedom act reached him he decamped from his master and started in search of his wife. He succeeded in reaching her and together they joined the Federal troops, who piloted them on the road to freedom. The joy of the poor man at his unexpected reunion with his wife was of the most demonstrative character. The pine woods resounded with his exclamations of rapture as he leaped into the air, crying aloud, "I have found her; I have found her; bress de Lord."

A New England man who lately deserted from the Confederate ranks says that the Emancipation act has in some way been whispered to the slaves in the western part of North Carolina, and the slave-owners are sending their best slaves away from the Federal lines, but in every case where the opportunity is offered the slaves skedaddle from their masters, who are losing in this way a large amount of valuable property.

A recent letter from Newbern says: "The contrabands who arrive in large numbers from the interior are partially provided for by government. They are given old tents, and are obliged to encamp outside of our fortifications or lines. Those residing in the city generally find employment amongst the soldiers, and are able to support themselves. I visited yesterday a small school for the instruction of several young colored children, kept by a free colored woman named Green, in a low wooden shanty near our barracks. I was surprised to see how these young children comprehended and strove to remember what was taught them. Some could only say their alphabet, while others could read quite well and some could cipher."

CONTRABANDS FLOCKING TO THE FLEET.—Rear-Admiral Porter writes to the Secretary of the Navy, that he is filling up his crews with contrabands, who are eagerly flocking to him to enter the service, bringing stout hands and willing hearts. Admiral Porter tried to enlist white men, but failed to get as many as he needed. The opposition of Copperheads to the war, and the efforts they are making to discourage men from volunteering, prevented Porter from securing enough white marines. But men to handle his guns and work his vessels he must have. So he issued a call to the blacks to come and help him fight the rebels, and he says in his report that they flocked to him in large numbers, as substitutes for white men.

We never heard Porter called an "Abolitionist." He is a Democrat, but a Union-War Democrat, sensible and practical in his notions. Negroes have long proven themselves to be capital sailors. They are obedient, hardy, and brave, and will follow wherever white officers dare to lead. They will stand by their guns and fight them as long as men of any other complexion or nationality.—*Chicago Tribune.*

GEN. ROSECRANS EMPLOYING NEGROES.—Gen. Rosecrans has issued an order from which we give these extracts:

Negroes may be employed and paid, in conformity with the act of Congress, as follows:

1. As teamsters on quartermasters' trains, provided a sufficient number of white teamsters and waggonmasters are retained to preserve order.
2. As laborers in the quartermaster and engineer departments.
3. As cooks, nurses and attendants in hospitals.
4. As company cooks, two to a company.
5. As officers' servants, according to the number allowed by law.

Commanders of corps, divisions, brigades and independent posts are authorized to procure and employ negroes as above:

1. From those found free and roaming at large.
2. From those belonging to masters serving in the rebel army, or who have been employed, in any manner, in the rebel service.
3. From those belonging to persons, who, though not now serving in the rebel cause, are disloyal, or have children or other near relatives in the rebel army, who are benefitted or maintained by the labor of such slaves.

Lastly, when it becomes an absolute necessity, from among those belonging to loyal men. In this case, a copy of the order directing their employment, and a descriptive list of persons so employed, shall be given to the owner, duly authenticated by the commanding officer of the troops in whose service they are employed.

All persons so employed in each regiment, except those employed as officers' servants, will be entered on quartermasters' rolls as laborers or teamsters, stating their age, sex, name of master or claimant, date of employment, and the length of time employed; and in the column of "remarks" will be noted on what duty and by whom employed. Those employed by the engineer, quartermaster or medical departments, will be entered on their appropriate rolls. They will be provided with clothing, to be deducted from their pay, the balance to be paid to the person employed, unless he belong to a loyal master, in which case payment will be made to the master.

Every negro thus employed will receive a certificate from his employer, setting forth the fact and nature of his employment, and no male or female negro will remain in camp, or be subsisted therein, without such certificate.

COLORPHOBIA IN THE ARMY.—*Baton Rouge, La., Jan.* 28.—Considerable trouble has arisen here on account of the injudiciousness of Col. Daniell, of the Third Native Guard, colored regiment, who placed a negro captain as officer of the day on duty, and put a white man on duty as lieutenant of the guard the same day and in the same camp. Our white troops when ordered out to salute the colored officer of the day refused to obey orders, and laid down their arms. The officers and privates of the Thirteenth Maine Regiment would pay no regard to the colored officer, and threatened his life if he attempted to coerce them into obedience. I hear that four officers have sent in their resignations on account of this unpleasant state of affairs. There is no need of appointing negro *commissioned* officers while we have so many white veterans, willing and perfectly competent, doubly so more than these colored officers, and most negroes prefer white men for their superior officers. The opinion among all military men on this subject is, that unless some more discreet and rational plan is speedily adopted we shall have serious trouble in this matter. The most efficient and truly specific remedy for this trouble is to brigade the colored regiments together, and appoint white commissioned officers to command them. Such a course would again restore to our ranks sereneness and mutual friendship, which has always pervaded the camps. It would be well for all of these colored troops to be employed in throwing up earthworks and in garrisoning fortifications, where they will not be likely to come in contact with our troops.—*Cor. Times.*

CRUELTY AT POINT LOOKOUT.—Says the correspondent of *The Evening Post*: "Major John Carter Brown is the commandant of this post, with several companies of the lost "children," a regiment recruited in your city. The brilliant career of this Major and his children is deserving of attention. They have never been in a fight, except against unarmed doctors and contrabands. The second brave act of this Major was to stand by and see his men break into the quarters of the poor contrabands, and steal their Christmas dinner, which they had bought with their little earnings, and all the provisions which they had in store.

THE CONTRABANDS AT CRANEY ISLAND.—The Fortress Monroe correspondent of the N. Y. *Times*, under date Feb. 13, writes: "The blacks in this department are tasting the sweets of remunerated effort, and fast improving in capacity. Gen. Dix is now inaugurating the policy pursued in South Carolina, of placing them temporarily upon farms, under supervision, and enabling those who have no other occupation to earn their own living, rather than remain a charge upon the government. For months past, all blacks hereabouts, of both sexes, who were unable to find employment, have been removed to Craney Island under the superintendence of Dr. Brown. There are now on the spot nearly seventeen hundred, and, as the island is approached, crowds of them are seen. This mass of emancipated human beings, born into a new life, brings more forcibly to the mind than any other spectacle the giant results of this war. They are comfortably lodged in tents or barracks, supplied with food by the government, and subjected to efficient supervision. Over every hundred persons there is a superintendent, which the blacks exercise the privilege of choosing. They also elect all minor officers for different charges. It is noticeable that precisely those persons are chosen by the negroes who would have been selected by the judgment of Dr. Brown himself. Benevolent ladies and gentlemen sent by the Freedmen's Relief Association, the American Missionary Association, and others, have undertaken to give the rudiments of education both to children and adults, and these, with kindred societies, have sent on large supplies of clothing. Much of this, especially that sent by the Friends of Philadelphia, is new. Its only deficiency is in color, which is desperately sombre. The negro is exceedingly picturesque in gay colors. Labor upon Craney Island, as yet, has been confined to that necessitated by comfort and cleanliness. A little spare time has been given to the preparation of coarse baskets for farm work, at which a number are quick and skillful. Excellent mechanics are found among these blacks, and all the dwellings reared for their use are by themselves. The prospect of farming pleases them, and about a hundred have been already placed upon the land of a rebel Col. Gale, near by, who has abandoned his property; but as yet, they can do nothing but spade the soil. Agricultural implements and seeds will doubtless be furnished by those interested in the cause; manure will be lightered from the streets and stables of Norfolk, but carts and horses must be furnished by the government, and for these the prospect is very uncertain. Eight hundred laborers can cultivate more than three thousand acres. The land lies at hand waiting, and of good quality. For commensurate crops, plowing must at once be done, and for this and other uses at least one hundred horses should be found. The blacks of the department now cost the country $1,000 a day in food, steamers, salaries, etc. $10,000 paid for these animals would be but the cost of ten days' support, and the product of their labor would be great."

FEAR OF THE SLAVE POPULATION.—The Southern *Republic*, of Columbus, Miss., has the following:

"OUR SLAVES.—We have seen for a long time a disposition on the part of our slaves to be more independent, and to exercise a disposition to do as they please. We wish to call attention to this matter, and to warn their owners that they must keep a more strict watch upon them. They are running about at all hours of the day and night, while many have already left for parts unknown. They are getting lazy and shiftless, and we know many that have left good homes where they were hired, because they had to get up an hour before day, and they wouldn't stand it, and their masters or mistresses sustained them in it. If this course is pursued long they would not only ruin their slaves, but themselves.

"Now, if ever, in such times as we are now passing through, a strong curb should be put upon our slave population, and if it is not done the owners will be alone to blame for any evil which may arise from a lack of discipline. We believe that some have been tampered with, but we can as yet trace it to no source. We call attention to this, because we consider it a duty, and hope our warning will be heeded."

PROPOSITION TO RAISE COLORED TROOPS.—We learn that Count Gurowski has applied to the Secretary of War, for permission to organize a regiment or a brigade of loyal colored Virginians, with the intention of fighting the traitor F. F. V's. on their own soil. The application contains various suggestions relating to the drill and armament of such levies—suggestions drawn from the experience of the Poles, in 1831, when in want of firearms, the new levies were hurriedly armed with scythes; and these scythemen terrified the Russian troops more than did even the heroic regulars of the Polish army. Count Gurowski, we believe, is one of the veterans of the Polish revolution of 1831.—*Commonwealth.*

THE LAST PROOF OF LOYALTY.—*Murfreesboro, Tenn., Feb.* 6.—The sentiments and bearing of the negroes hereabouts are most extraordinary. They acquiesce in the decision of the President not to grant them their freedom, *as a matter of loyalty.* Contrary to expectation, the slaves of Tennessee manifest not the least uneasiness, disquiet or disobedience at being excepted from the operation of that benign policy which is to make millions of their brethren free. Yesterday, I was conversing with several slaves, and endeavored to explain to them that the President had refrained from proclaiming freedom to their class in Tennessee, Kentucky, etc., because there were some good Union people in those States who did not wish to have their slaves liberated, and because it was thought that the cause of the Union would be strengthened in those States by allowing things to continue as they were. "O. well," said a fine-looking young man, "I'se willin' to agree to anything Massa Linkum thinks right." "Yes," added a gray-headed African, "if dey makes all dose oder cullud folks free, I can stand it to be a slave a few years longer." As he said this he looked upward, as if to catch a glimpse of a country where he knew all bondage would end. Poor degraded slaves! Unlettered, untaught, they indeed were. And yet I could not refrain from thinking that the two who had spoken, the young man and the old, were imbued with a devoted loyalty and Christian spirit seldom found even amongst the best and most patriotic of us all. The young man was willing to sacrifice forever his hopes of personal freedom in obedience to the President—the old man would submit to spend the remainder of his days in slavery for the sake of his brethren!—*Cincinnati Gazette.*

THE "CONTRABAND" IN KENTUCKY

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THE NEW LIBERTY BELL.

"After our fathers had issued to the world their Declaration, the bell that hung in the dome over the building in which the immortal paper was adopted, bearing the motto, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof," became cracked—as if by the spirit of slavery—and made utterly unfit for its purpose. There it hangs, in yonder hall, a voiceless but speaking monument of a glorious and also of a disgraceful fact. It is a symbol—a striking symbol—striking in the fact that it cannot strike. It would be a good idea, at this time, while we are correcting the errors of our fathers, to repair the breach in the bell. I propose, therefore, this being a proper occasion, that we have a new bell, made of the right stuff, with the ring of the genuine metal; that it shall bear the same glorious motto and be hung in the same dome, over the same old Hall of Independence, so that it may ring out in a glorious chime, "*Liberty throughout the land, and to all the inhabitants thereof.*"—*Speech of J. Miller McKim.*

Yes! ring again the freedom bell,
And let its tones be loud and clear;
With glad hosannas let it swell,
Until they reach the bondman's ear.

Through pain that wrings the life apart,
And spasms full of deadly strife,
And throes that shake the nation's heart,
The fainting land renews her life.

Where shrieks and groans distract the air,
And sods grow red with crimson rain,
The ransomed slave shall kneel in prayer,
And bury deep his rusty chain.

Where cheeks now pale with sickening dread,
And brows grow dark with cruel wrath,
Shall Freedom's banner wide be spread,
And peace and joy attend her path.

White-robed and pure her feet shall move
O'er rifts of ruin deep and wide,
Her hands shall span with lasting love
The chasms rent by Hate and Pride.

Where waters blushed with human gore,
Unsullied streams shall purl along;
Where crashed the battle's awful roar,
Shall rise the freeman's joyful song.

Then ring, aye, quickly ring the bell
Proclaiming all the nation free!
Let earth with glad thanksgiving swell,
And heaven catch up the melody:

I no more dread his cruel grasp
Shall tear my loved ones from my clasp:
They are mine forevermore.

From dewy morn to starry night,
I toil with heart and footsteps light:
My very soul is calm.

No more my blood with anger boils,
To see the fruit of all my toils
Clutched in a master's palm.

My walls are bare of pictured grace,
My cheerful hearth's an humble place,
But joy is my dear guest.

In peace I lull my boy to sleep,
And watch his slumbers calm and deep:
Oh, Freedom give us rest!

FRANCES E. W. HARPER.

IGNATIUS SANCHO.

Among reading people, the sad history of Dr. Dodd is generally known. The Reverend Dr. William Dodd was hanged, at Tyburn, June 27, 1777, for forgery, committed Feb. 4, of that year; and it has always appeared to us, that a vast amount of ill-applied sympathy has been lavished upon the fate of this very eloquent, and very unprincipled, man. His history, to which we refer the reader, is the basis of this opinion. Few persons appear to have expressed their feelings of regret for the fate of Dr. Dodd so forcibly as Samuel Johnson and Ignatius Sancho. Johnson exerted himself strenuously to save Dodd from the gallows; and Sancho thus addresses the editor of the London *Morning Post:*

Sir, I am one of the many who have been often edified by the graceful eloquence, and truly Christian doctrine of the unfortunate Dr. Dodd: as a divine he had, and still has, my love and reverence; his faults I regret; but, alas, I feel myself too guilty to cast a stone. Justice has her claims—but Mercy—the anchor of my hope, inclines me to wish he might meet with royal clemency. His punishments have already been pretty severe—the loss of royal favor, the cowardly attacks of malicious buffoonery, and the overstrained zeal for rigid justice in the prosecution. Oh! would to God the reverend bishops, clergy, etc., would join in petitioning the throne for his life. It would save the holy order from indignity, and even the land itself from the reproach of making too unequal distinctions of punishments. He might, by the rectitude of his future life, and due exertion of his matchless powers, be of infinite service as chaplain to the poor convicts on the river, which would be a punishment, and, at the same time, serve for a proof, or test, of his contrition, and the sincerity of a zeal he has often manifested, in the pulpit, for the service of true religion. And he may rise the higher by his late fall; and do more real service to the thoughtless and abandoned culprits than a preacher whose character might be deemed spotless. If this hint should stimulate a pen or heart, like the good Bishop of Chester's, to exert itself in the behalf of a man who has formerly been alive to every act of Heaven-born charity—the writer of this will have joy, even in his last moments, in the reflection that he paid a mite of the vast debt he owes Dr. Dodd, as a preacher. Vol. I. page 181.

The buffoonery, of which Sancho writes, probably refers to Sam. Foote's farce, "the Cozeners," in which this audacious joker ridiculed Dr. Dodd and his wife. In the suggestion, as to "unequal distinctions of punishments," Sancho seems to have been, more than half a century, in advance of the age. Dodd was executed in 1777. Forgery was punished with death, in England, till 1832. The death penalty was then abolished in all but two cases of forgery, and in all cases of forgery, in the first year of Victoria, 1837.

Ignatius Sancho was a great admirer of theatrical exhibitions, and was patronized by David Garrick; at one time the thought was suggested of introducing Sancho upon the stage, in the characters of Othello and Oroonoko; but the project was abandoned, on account of his peculiar articulation. It is stated, by Gorton, that Sancho actually appeared in those characters.

At the close of his biographical accounts, Chalmers observes—"Such was the man, whose species philosophers and anatomists have endeavored to degrade, as a deterioration of the human; and such was the man, whom Fuller, with a benevolence and quaintness, peculiarly his own, accounted '*God's image, though cut in ebony.*' To the harsh definition of the naturalist, oppressions, political and legislative, were once added, but the abolition of the slave trade has now swept away every engine of that tyranny. Sancho left a widow, and a son, who carried on the business of a bookseller." Had the author of this observation survived to the present day, he would have surrendered his pretensions to the gift of prescience, while contemplating the continuance of the slave trade and slavery; and hundreds of thousands, professing to be Christians, and yet holding, as a main article of their political creed, that *slavery* is the corner stone of a *free* republic.

Mr. Joseph Jekyll, one of Sancho's biographers, remarks—"The display, which these writings exhibit of epistolary talent, rapid and just conception, of mild patriotism, and universal philanthropy attracted the protection of the great, and the friendship of the learned. The poets were studied, and even imitated, with some success—two pieces were constructed for the stage—the theory of music was discussed, published and dedicated to the Princess Royal—and painting was so much within the circle of Ignatius Sancho's judgment and criticism, that several artists paid great deference to his opinion."

We shall now trouble the careless reader, and gratify the philanthropist, by presenting another of Sancho's letters. This letter was addressed to a young man, whom Sancho had been requested to watch over, and counsel. It appears, that Mr. Garrick, for whom Sancho entertained a profound respect, felt an interest in this young man, and had written him a letter, at the time of his departure for the West Indies. Sancho writes, as follows:

London, July 18, 1772. Mr. Dear Friend: Nothing could possibly be more welcome than the favor of your truly obliging letter, which I received the day before yesterday. Know, my worthy young man, that it is the pride of my heart, when I reflect, that through the favor of Providence I was the humble means of good to so worthy an object. May you live to be a credit to your great and good friends, and a blessing and comfort to your honest parents. May you, my child, pursue, through God's mercy, the right paths of humility, candor, temperance, and benevolence, with an early piety, gratitude, and praise to the Almighty Giver of all your good—gratitude and love, for the noble and generous benefactors his providence has so kindly moved in your behalf. Ever let your actions be such as your heart can approve—always think before you speak, and pause before you act—always suppose yourself before the eyes of Sir William and Mr. Garrick. To think justly is the way to do rightly, and by that means you will ever be at peace within. I am happy to hear Sir W. cares so much about your welfare; his character is great because he is good. As to your noble friend, Mr. Garrick, his virtues are above all praise. He has not only the best head in the world, but the best heart also; he delights in doing good. Your father and mother called on me last week, to show me a letter which Mr. Garrick wrote to you—keep it, my dear boy, as a treasure beyond price—it would do honor to the pen of a divine—it breathes the spirit of father, friend and Christian—indeed, I know no earthly friend that I can reverence so much as your exalted and noble friend and patron, Mr. Garrick. Your father and mother, I told you, I saw lately—they were both well, and their eyes overflowed, at the goodness of your noble patrons, and with the honest hope you would prove yourself not unworthy of their kindness.

I thank you for your kindness to my poor black brethren. I flatter myself you will find them not ungrateful—they act commonly from their feelings. I have observed a dog will love those who treat him kindly; and surely, it so, negroes, in their state of ignorance and bondage, will not act less generously. If I may judge by myself, I should suppose kindness would do anything with them: My soul melts at kindness—but the contrary, I own, with shame, makes me almost a savage. When you write again, if you can with convenience, send me half a dozen cocoa nuts. I shall esteem them, for your sake; but do not think of it if there is the least difficulty. In regard to wages, I think you acted quite right—don't seek, too hastily, to be independent—it is quite time enough yet, for one of your age, to be your own master.

Read Mr. Garrick's letter, night and morning—put it next your heart—impress it on your memory—and may the God of all mercy give you grace to follow his friendly dictates! I shall ever rejoice to hear from you, and your well doing will be a comfort to me ever. It is not in your power and option to command riches—wisdom and health are immediately the gift of God—it is in your own heart to be good—therefore, my dear child, make the only right election—be good—and leave the rest to God; and remember, he is about your bed; and about your path, and spieth out all your ways. I am, with pride and delight, your true friend. Vol. I., page 37. IGNATIUS SANCHO.

Can any man of common sense doubt, for a moment, that thousands of equally intelligent and estimable negroes, without a particle of Caucassian blood in their veins, have been born, and lived, and died, the slaves of men, whose title to domineer was the color of their skins! It must be confessed, there is something, that startles the brain, and stirs the blood, in the idea of a sensual, drunken, white beast of a plantation driver laying the lash upon the back of Ignatius Sancho! Yet such might have been his lot; and then, some worthy clergyman, taking a south-side view of poor Sancho, would prove, from holy writ, that he had Ham for his ancestor, who was a negro though his father, Noah, was a white man—that slaveholders were the vicegerents of the Almighty, carrying out his intentions, who created negroes to cultivate cotton, sugar and tobacco for the white man, without compensation, and that the manifest mistake, in the divine arrangement, namely, creating the negro without brains, was happily remedied, by preventing him, under the dread of severe punishment, from making any use of his mental faculties, whatever, saving for plantation purposes. SIGMA.

—*Boston Transcript.*

ECHOES.

"Cans't thou imagine where those spirits live,
Which make such delicate music in the woods?"

Who does not remember with a sort of half regret, the wonder and delight of his first acquaintance with that mysterious imp, the never visible Echo? A perfect harlequin of the air, the merriest and the saddest mocker in the world, he laughed back your laugh, shouted back your shout, and cried back your cry.

There are commonplace echoes, just as there are (a few) commonplace people in the world, and there are eccentric echoes, curious, remarkable, grand and beautiful echoes. In the vicinity of Paris there exists an echo which not only repeats the same word six times in rapid succession, but has the trick of changing the letter S to V, which has given rise to a very pleasant joke. Call out Satan! The echo instantly replies Va t'en! (Get thee hence!) The reply undoubtedly proceeds from the ghost of some old sinner, who, compelled to do eternal penance in that spot, is moved to this adjuration every time he hears the name of his tormentor.

A saucy echo haunts the Rhine cliffs at Oberwesel. Ask him who is the burgomaster of Oberwesel and you get for an answer, Esel! Esel is the German for ass, and the burgomaster is highly sensible of the implied insult. More than once he has ordered the echo to hold its tongue; but the saucy mocker is not liable to imprisonment, and laughs at the attempted application of the gag-law.

Mountain echoes are often very grand. "The voices of subterranean demons, calling from the bottom of the world," is what the Arabs call them. One of the very grandest exists on the Kœnings-see, a picturesque lake in the Bavarian Highlands, at a spot where the naked cliff rises on one side to the height of five thousand feet while the other side is clothed with forest. The report of a pocket pistol fired here, is first returned, faint and low, from the wooded side, and dies away. In a second more it is heard gathering along the cliffs on the other side, like a gradual roll of thunder, increasing in volume until it breaks over your head in a deafening crash, louder than the broadside of a ship of the line.

Echoes love to haunt caverns and grottos. There is a large cavern in Finland, in which the cries of an animal thrown into it increase in volume and multiply to such a fearful extent that men of the strongest nerves have turned pale to hear them. The peasantry believe the cavern to be one of the principal gateways to a place not mentionable to "ears polite." Other grottoes are the residences of good and happy echoes that live in harmony with the great Spirit of Nature. One of these is the celebrated cave of Fingal. The vast proportions and beautiful details of the cavern charm the eye, while the ear is enraptured by strains of enchanted music, which continually fill the air. The crystal sounds of numberless waterfalls, the breathing of the winds, mingling with the cadence of the multitudinous waves striking against the sonorous columns of basalt, make a strange and ravishing harmony.

A little nonsense is now and then relished by echoes as well as by the wisest men. A few years ago the following incident occurred in Baltimore during the session of a religious convention. An English clergyman—a little red-haired, waspish man of God—got on his legs for the purpose of delivering a great speech. Echo came to the rescue of his American friends, and the following amusing colloquy ensued:

Clergyman—"Mr. Chairman."
Echo—"Mr. Chairman."
Clergyman—"I have the floor, sir."
Echo—"I have the floor, sir."
Clergyman—"Do you mean to insult me?"
Echo—"Do you mean to insult me?"

By this time the whole audience was in a roar, and the enraged little Englishman flopped down into his seat, muttering anathemas against the ill-manners of American conventions.

The interest of the following story of an indiscreet echo verges on the tragic. It is said to have occurred in the Cathedral of Girgenti, in Sicily:

There was one point in this cathedral where the slightest whisper uttered in a certain confessional, two hundred and fifty feet distant, could be heard as distinctly as if it had been spoken aloud close to the listener's ear. One morning a handsome young lady, elegantly attired, entered the fatal confessional. At the same instant a gentleman entered the cathedral, and by chance took his station on the very spot which stood in connection with the confessional.

He was the lady's husband!

She began with the common-places of confession. She was too fond of balls, theatres, dress; was uncharitable towards the failings of her female friends, etc.

The husband smiled, but over-curious, continued to listen. The fair penitent had something more serious on her mind. She confessed it between two delicate sighs. The husband trembled, and mechanically put his hand on his forehead. Leaving the cathedral, he waited for his wife at the door, saluting her when she appeared with a violent blow.

The incident caused a deal of scandal in Girgenti, and the unlucky confessional was removed to a place where there was less danger of its creating domestic discord.

There is a magnificent echo in the Baptistry at Pisa. It requires three notes to call it out, but those three it swells and prolongs and varies until you think you hear the playing of a grand organ.

EMANCIPATION IN RUSSIA.

Only a few days remain before the expiration of the two years' delay granted the Russian nobles by the Emperor Alexander in his ukase of serf-emancipation. Already about eighty-two per cent. of the serfs are actually freed from the control of their late masters, and have therefore risen to the rank of responsible subjects of the empire instead of the slaves of a few dozen of the nobility. Some millions remain in bondage, their masters having as yet failed to make the "contracts" which the Emperor's proclamation enjoins. Should the nobles fail to conclude the requisite arrangements before the days of grace expire (March 3) they will be left in the condition of the rebels in our Southern States, who were forewarned of the President's intentions in September last, but brought the penalty on their own heads in January. A St. Petersburg letter, published in an English journal, gives the following interesting statistics of the progress of the emancipation movement in a part of the empire up to the first week in December:

"The statistical report of the operations up to the end of November announces that in the 45 governments over which the emancipatory operations extend, there were, according to the most recent computation, 9,820,606 adult males to be set free. Up to the present time 91,481 contracts have been submitted, of which 65,040, concerning 6,016,443 persons, have been concluded. On the average, there are 65 peasants concerned in each contract, from which it will be perceived that the 26,441 contracts yet to be completed concern 2,119,000 persons. It would appear that 8,135,000 peasants or 82 4-5ths per cent. of the number, have already made arrangements with their proprietors; and from the activity which the authorities have recently displayed, it is to be hoped that by the end of February the remaining contracts will be agreed to."

Thus, with the opening of the year 1863, the greatest Autocracy and the greatest Democracy of the earth move simultaneously towards the accomplishment of similar purposes. The Emperor Alexander and President Lincoln have each freed millions of enslaved men and women by a declaration which is no more a "a mere piece of waste paper" in the United States than it is in Russia. In the Empire the proclamation of Emancipation is sustained by the power of the Crown, and it is useless for the proud and rich nobles to contest it. In the Republic Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, coming home to the hearts of the people, is sustained by them in their sovereign capacity; and it is as idle for the puffed-up and impoverished slave-masters to declare it inoperative as it would be dangerous for a Muscovite Count to disobey the will of his monarch. In each case there is a royal decree—with this difference, that here the people are the rulers, and will have it so that slavery shall die.—*Eve. Post.*

THE TRUE CHURCH.

BY THEODORE TILTON.

I asked a holy man one day,
"Where is the one true church, I pray?"

"Go round the world," said he, "and search:
No man hath found the one true church."

I pointed to a spire, cross-crowned.
"The church is false!" he cried, and frowned.

But, murmuring he had told me wrong,
I pointed to the entering throng.

He answered, "If a church be true,
It hath not many, but a few."

Around the font the people pressed,
And crossed themselves from brow to breast.

"A cross!" he cried, "writ on the brow
In water!—is it Christ's?—look thou!

"Each forehead, frowning, sheds it off:
Christ's cross abides through scowl and scoff."

Then, looking through the open door,
We saw men kneeling on the floor;

Faint candles, by the daylight dimmed,—
Like wicks the foolish virgins trimmed;

Fair statues of the saints, as white
As now their robes are, in God's light;

Sun-ladders, dropt aslant, all gold,—
Like stairs the angels trod of old.

Around, above, from nave to roof,
He gazed, and said in sad reproof,—

"Alas! who is it understands
God's temple is not made with hands?"

—We walked along a shaded way,
Beneath the apple-blooms of May,

And came upon a church whose dome
Bore still the cross, but not for Rome.

We brushed a cobweb from a pane,
And gazed within the sacred fane.

"Do prayers," he asked, "the more avail,
If murmured nigh an altar-rail?

"Does water sprinkled from a bowl
Wash any sin from any soul?

"Do tongues that taste the bread and wine
Speak truer after, by that sign?

"The very priest, in gown and bands,
Hath lying lips and guilty hands!"

"He speaks no error," answered I;
"He says the living all shall die,

"The dead all rise; and both are true;
Both wholesome doctrines,—old, not new."

My friend returned, "He aims a blow
To strike the sins of long ago,—

"Yet shields, the while, with studied phrase,
The evil present in these days.

"Doth God in heaven impute no crime
To prophets who belie their time?"

—We turned away among the tombs:
The bees were in the clover-blooms;

The crickets leaped to let us pass;
And God's sweet breath was on the grass.

We spelled the legends on the stones:
The graves were full of martyrs' bones,—

Of bodies which the rack once brake
In witness for the dear Lord's sake,—

Of ashes gathered from the pyres
Of saints whose souls fled up through fires.

I heard him murmur, as we passed,
"Thus won they all the crown at last;

"Which now men lose, through looking back
To find it at the stake and rack:

"The rack and stake have gathered grime:
God's touchstone is the passing time."

—Just then, amid some olive-sprays,
Two orioles perched, and piped their lays,—

Until the gold beneath their throats
Shook molten in their mellow notes.

Then, pealing from the church, a psalm
Rolled forth upon the outer calm.

"Both choirs," said I, "are in accord;
For both give worship to the Lord."

Said he, "The tree-top-song, I fear,
Fled first and straightest to God's ear.

"If men bind other men in chains,
Then chant, doth God accept the strains?

"Do loud-lipped hymns His ear allure?—
God hates the church that harms the poor!"

—Then rose a meeting-house in view,
Of bleached and weather-beaten hue,

Where, plain of garb and pure of heart,
Men kept the church and world apart,

And sat in waiting for the light
That dawns upon the inner sight;

Nor did they vex the silent air
With any sound of hymn or prayer;

But on their lips God's hand was pressed,
And each man kissed it and was blessed.

I asked, "Is this the true church, then?"
"Nay," answered he, "a sect of men:

"And sects that lock their doors in pride
Shut God and half His saints outside.

"The gates of heaven, the Scripture say,
Stand open wide by night and day.

"Whoso shall enter hath no need
To walk by either church or creed:

"The false church leadeth men astray;
The true church showeth men the way."

Whereat I still more eager grew
To shun the false and find the true:

And, naming all the creeds, I sought
What truth, or lie, or both, they taught:

Thus—"Augustine—had *he* a faith?"
My friend looked up to yon blue vault,

And cried, "Behold! can one man's eyes
Bound all the vision of the skies?"

I said, "The circle is too wide."
"God's truth is wider," he replied;

"And Augustine, on bended knee,
Saw just the little he could see;

"So Luther sought with eyes and heart,
Yet caught the glory but in part;

"So Calvin opened wide his soul,
Yet could not comprehend the whole:

"Not Luther, Calvin, Augustine,
Saw half the vision I have seen!"

—Then grew within me a desire
That kindled like a flame of fire.

I looked upon his reverent brow,
Entreating, "Tell me, who art thou?"

When, by the light that filled the place,
I knew it was the Lord's own face!

Through all my blood a rapture stole
That filled my body and my soul.

I was a sinner and afraid:
I bowed me in the dust and prayed:—

"O Christ the Lord! end Thou my search,
And lead me to the one true church!"

Then spake He, not as man may speak:
"The one true church thou shalt not seek;

"Behold, it is enough," He said,
"To find the one true Christ, its Head!"

Then straight He vanished from my sight,
And left me standing in the light.

—*Atlantic Monthly, for March.*

An Unconscious Hero.—The notice, by the dailies, that Gen. Hooker desired to appoint George W. Smalley of *The Tribune* on his staff, as an acknowledgment of the great merit of his report of the battle of Antietam, reminds us of a personal interview we had with Gen. Hooker, which, in justice to Hooker and to Mr. Smalley, we feel it to be our duty to recite. The General was laid up with his wound, but on the occasion referred to, he was well enough to be bolstered in a chair, and was engaged in writing a letter. Our conversation soon turned to the battle of Antietam, when he referred with considerable enthusiasm to what he characterized as the wonderful account of the battle given by the reporter for *The Tribune.* "It was," said he, "a perfect reproduction of the scene and all its incidents; and it is a marvel to me how you writers can perform such tasks." I asked the General if he knew who the reporter of *The Tribune* was. "I saw him first upon the battle-field," was his reply. "I first noticed him when we were in the hottest portion of the fight, early in the morning. My attention was then attracted to a civilian, who sat upon his horse, in advance of my whole staff; and though he was in the hottest of the fire, and the shot and shell were striking and sputtering around us like so much hail, he sat gazing on the strife as steady and as undisturbed as if he were in a quiet theatre, looking at a scene upon the stage.

In all the experience which I have had of war, I never saw the most experienced and veteran soldier exhibit more tranquil fortitude and unshaken valor than was exhibited by that young man. I was concerned at the needless risk which he invited, and told one of my aids to order him to the rear. Presently, all my aids had left me, on one service and another; whereupon, turning to give an order, I found no one but this young stranger at my side. I then asked him if he would oblige me by bearing a dispatch to Gen. McClellan, and by acting as my aid until some one of my staff should come up. He rode off with alacrity through a most exposed position, returned with the answer, and served me as an aid through the remainder of the fight." "And his name, General?" "He was a young man, recently from college, named George W. Smalley, and I am writing to him now!" Those who know the noble nature of Gen. Hooker will therefore wonder but little that one of his first acts, when placed in chief command of the Army of the Potomac, was to ask to have George W. Smalley placed upon his staff.—*Wilkes's Spirit of the Times.*

SPURGEON.

[From a most interesting letter in the Boston *Evening Transcript*, written by an American merchant in London, we take the following notice of this distinguished preacher, and ourselves join in the heart-felt Amen:]

London, Jan. 21st, 1863.

Last Monday we attended service at Spurgeon's great Tabernacle. Every seat and aisle were filled before he entered. There are seats for over 7,000 persons, although 8,000 to 9,000 it is said may be got into the building. I do not doubt that over 7,000 persons were present at this service, all well-dressed, good and respectable people, averaging equally with any of our churches. Of course none of the nobility were there. The shape of the hall is about a double cube, the interior is oval, with two galleries completely around the room, even behind the speaker. Its accoustic properties are perfect. It cost £48,000, all paid for before Spurgeon would preach in it. There is no musical instrument in the house, but the hymns are deaconed out by Spurgeon himself, who stands with his full figure before his audience, with only a simple banister railing to rest upon.

In appearance he is stout, weighing say 225 lbs., yet a good height and figure, although very full in the face, a clear complexion and dark chestnut hair, with small half whiskers. He looks like a good man, and I doubt not he is one. In some intellectual traits he resembles Mr. H. W. Beecher, although less fiery or emotional. There is nothing at all approaching to a ranting style. His voice is powerful, sweet and earnest, filling every one with the thought of his subject. It is always gentle, yet strong and clear, without any apparent effort. He is young, not over 32 or 35 years of age; a remarkable reader, and must have studied elocution thoroughly. He is graceful. I did not see a single awkward gesture. He spoke about one hour, the whole service occupied about two hours; the remarks were extemporaneous and were reported by a stenographer. The audience all sang, and the volume of sound as it rolled up from 7,000 fervent voices was solemn and imposing, as it was grand and powerful. The hearts of a multitude seemed moving heavenward. His prayers, which were in a supplicating, conversational tone, were fervent and excellent. He prayed to God as a child would ask of a father; the words were not rolled out in the usual pompous intonations, common in the daily service of many churches here. He prayed like a good man, and no one could doubt the sincerity of his heart. After opening his prayer, and praying as usual for his flock and matters near his heart, he said, as nearly as I can repeat it, which I think is word for word, as I wrote it down at the time, viz.:

"And now we would offer up a prayer upon a subject to which we have not alluded for some months. Now, O God, we turn our thoughts across the sea, to the dreadful conflict of which we knew not what to say; but now the voice of freedom shows where is right. We pray Thee give success to this glorious Proclamation of Liberty, which comes to us from across the waters. We had feared our brethren were not in earnest and would not come to this. Bondage and the lash can claim no sympathy from us. *God bless and strengthen the North—give victory to their arms,* and a speedy end to fearful strife. As lovers of freedom, let us not belie our calling; now that we know their cause we can but exclaim, *God speed them.*" At this point, in the middle of his prayer, he threw up both hands toward heaven, and, in the momentary pause, a deep, low, sonorous and distinct "Amen" came forth from every section of the house, and many an eye bathed in tears told how truly this prayer had met the hearts of his seven thousand hearers and followers.

DICKENS'S READINGS.

Paris Correspondence of The World.

We have a new local sensation. Charles Dickens has given readings from his own works at the British Embassy, before a full and fashionable audience, for the benefit of the British Charitable Fund and at the somewhat high rate of twenty francs [$4] per ticket. The great humorist created a decided impression upon the versatile conductors of the Paris papers, while to his own countrymen and the Americans in the city his presence afforded unalloyed satisfaction. He read a dramatized abridgment of "David Copperfield," ingeniously arranged by himself to preserve the unity of a regular plot, and of the three hundred persons who assembled in Lord Cowley's great drawing-room to hear him there was not one who did not hang upon his words, laughing when he bade them and melting into tears at his will. It may amuse your readers to see the effect produced by this performance upon the French editors; taking *Le Temps* as a fair sample:

"It is difficult to explain to the French public (observes *Le Temps*) what the English call reading. It is *a mixture of the pulpit, the homily, the magic lantern and the spectacle*—the spectacle, principally, for it is a substitute for theatrical amusements which were long prohibited by English religion, and as a consequence prevented to a great extent from taking root in English manners, that public 'readings' grew into vogue. * * * We have certainly no reader in France at all comparable to Mr. Dickens. He is, indeed, a reader who does not read; for he knows by heart the work of which he recites us an abridgment. The book is before him, but he scarcely glances at it. He recites, he describes, he acts, he mimics, and represents every personage with a variety of intonation, a truth of accent, and a power of realization which is truly marvellous. For two hours he captivated attention without appearing to feel, and what is more, without causing, the least fatigue.

"After having seen and heard Mr. Dickens, one is more curious than ever to read his novels—so entirely does the genius of observation seem to be incarnate in him. The actor and the academic reader may learn much in the school of Dickens. Such purity of diction and a voice so pliable and so powerful are very rare indeed. We regret that there were not more French people among the audience, for, even without understanding the language, they would have been struck with the wonderful talent of the reader. It is true, however, that French opinion would not be very favorable in principle to the idea of a celebrated writer making a show of himself, even for a charitable purpose. Shakspeare and Molière acted in their own plays, it is true, but would they have done so if they could have helped it? * * * However, the attention of the audience, the consummate art of the reader, the success obtained, disarm criticism in this case. * * * Reading, however, is an entertainment that will never become acclimatized with us. The religion of the Englishman, which does not allow him to see a comedy acted at a theatre, permits him to hear a comedy read by a celebrated author. The religion of the Frenchman, which enjoins him to damn the comedian, does not prevent him from going to a theatre to laugh at a comedy."

The *Siècle* says that "Dickens appeals more directly to the heart than Balzac. General questions touch him; the misery of the humble moves him; he always endeavors to combat some injustice, to vanquish some prejudice; his scalpel is not that of the anatomist who dissects, but of the physician who would cure; he is a great writer, an excellent man."

A Contraband's Prayer.—The following prayer by a pious contraband is reported as having been made in a prayer-meeting at Fortress Monroe: "Be merciful to your people, O God, I pray. You have done a great work for your people. Let thy blessing rest on de President of de United States, O God, I pray. We were bound wid chains—chains on our hands. We have seen our people bound wid chains and carried away. Some got fathers in foreign countries—some got fathers in foreign countries. Jesus bress de President. Lay down wid him dis night—rise up wid him in de morning. Bress de Union army, O God, I pray. God Almighty go wid your people. Lead us along in dis waste howling wilderness. Make us good. 'Member our people still in Dixie. Lord be wid them most 'ticular manner. Lord Almighty, make us willing to obey de President of de United States as much as de Union soldiers who come here to break our chains. Jesus, we have been bruised and dragged about. Let us be willing to lay down our lives for those who have come to break our chains. Let de war be pushed on, I pray God. Bress dem who have just run away and come here. Bress us all and me, de meanest of all Thy children, who is not worthy to be called a child, for Jesus sake. Amen.

A Change of Scene.—*Paris, Jan.* 27, 1863.—*The Opinion Nationale* of the 22d instant gives up nearly four of its columns to a translation of Mrs. Beecher Stowe's "Address to the Women of England." That document is thus likely to produce an impression in France only second to that which it has produced in England. *The Times* shows how deeply Mrs. Stowe's appeal cuts the aristocratic defenders of slavery in England, by the truculence and falsehood of its notice of the paper. It makes one admission, however, the truth of which cannot be questioned, and that is, that if the thing were to be done over again, many of the aristocratic ladies who, eight years ago, signed the "Appeal to the Women of America," would be careful to keep their names off the paper. "The scene has greatly changed since then," says *The Times.* No doubt of it. An intelligent and conscientious Englishman recently explained to me *how* the scene had changed. "When Lady Palmerston, the Countess of Shaftesbury, and other ladies of the aristocratic class signed the "Letter" against slavery, that institution was the vulnerable point, the sore of your republic. At that time the ruling class of England were quite willing to probe your wound, and to ask all mankind to look on and see how ghastly it was. Now, on the other hand, you are putting down slavery; and if you succeed, the wound will be healed, and your republic will be stronger than ever. It is *now* the supposed interest of the aristocratic class to support slavery, or, at least, to palliate it. At all events, they would prefer a dissolution of your Union, with slavery preserved in the South, to a restoration of your power, with slavery destroyed in the South."—*Cor. of The Methodist.*

THE INSURRECTION IN POLAND.

Unhappy Poland is once more in arms against its oppressors. The first intimation of it—probably little heeded by American readers—was given a few days ago in the telegraphic news summary of the Europa, which simply stated that insurrectionary movements were breaking out in Poland. Similar reports have often reached us before, and, on that very account, have attracted but little attention. But, this time it proves to be a wide-spread and well-conducted attempt of the entire nation, as far as it is subject to Russian rule, and, perhaps still further, to recover its national independence. The accounts which have thus far reached us represent the matter as very serious. Sanguinary conflicts with the Russian soldiery have taken place in a number of places. A number of Russians have been killed, among them one Colonel, and a Russian General has been wounded. The communication between Warsaw and St. Petersburg has been interrupted. The official paper of St. Petersburg charges the National party of Poland with having meditated a second massacre of St. Bartholomew throughout the kingdom, as not only in Warsaw, but in all the provincial towns, the detatchments of the Russian troops were simultaneously attacked.

One thing is certian. A very large portion of the Polish people must have been in the secret of conspiracy. An old revolutionist, well known from the revolutions of 1848—Gen. Mieroslavski—is at the head of the movement. The insurgents, moreover, are undoubtedly expecting succor from the Poles in Gallicia and the Prussian Province of Posen. It is even highly probable that an understanding existed with the revolutionary party of Russia, of which Alexander Herzen, in London, is the leader. Only such a hope could give to even the boldest revolutionist the courage to brave the rigor of the Russian law.

Great and universal as the sympathy of the civilized world with the wrongs inflicted upon unhappy Poland is, the recent insurrection will be almost unanimously regretted. Under the actual circumstances there is little, if any, hope of success. Had peace been maintained it is certain that the Polish nation would have made immense progress, not only in material prosperity, but also toward the recovery of its independence. The Austrian province of Gallicia has already a Polish Provisional Diet, which might have become an important centre for the political aspirations of the entire nation. All Europe has so far advanced in civilization that the extermination of nationalities, especially if they are so powerful as the Poles, is now counted among the impossibilities. Poland, of whose existence as a nation even the noble Kosciusco despaired, had become sure of a resurrection. This new outbreak, we greatly fear, will postpone the realization of the ardent national wish.—*Tribune.*

A HARDSHELL SERMON.

Rev. J. H. Aughey, a Union refugee from Mississippi, gives the following as a true report of a portion of a sermon he heard from a primitive or hard-shell Baptist in that State. It was a warm morning in July, and the reverend gentleman took off his coat and vest, rolled up his sleeves, and began:

"My Brethering and Sistern—I air a ignorant man, follored the plow all my life, and never rubbed agin nary college. As I said afore, I'm ignorant, and I thank God for it. [Brother Jones responds 'Passon, yer ort to be very thankful, for yer very ignorant.'] Well, I'm agin all high larnt fellers what preaches grammar and Greek fur a thousand dollars a year. They preaches for the money, and they gits it, and that's all they'll git. They've got so high larnt they contradicts Scripter, what plainly tells us that the sun rises and sets. They seys it don't, but that the yerth whirls round, like clay to the seal. What ud cum of the water in the wells ef it did? Wodent it all spill out, and leave 'em dry, and where ed we be? I may say to them, as the sarpent said unto David, much learning hath made thee mad.

"When I preaches, I never takes a tex till I goes inter the pulpit; then I preaches a plain sarment, what even women can understand. I never premederates, but what is given to me in that same hour, that I sez. Now I'm a gwine ter open the bible, and the first verse I sees, I'm a gwine to take it for a tex. [Suiting the action to the word, he opened the Bible, and commenced reading and spelling together.] Man is f-e-a-r-f-u-l-l-y—fearfully and w-o-n-d-e-r-f-u-l-l-y — wonderfully m-a-d-e — mad. "Man is fearfully and wonderfully made." [Pronounced mad.] Well, it's a quar tex, but I said I'se a gwine to preach from it, and I'm a gwine to do it. In the fust place, I'll divide my sarment into three heads. Fust and foremost, I show you that a man will git mad. 2d. That sometime he'll git fearfully mad; and thirdly and lastly, when thar's lots of things to vex and pester him, he'll git fearfully and wonderfully mad. And in the application I'll show you that good men sometimes gits mad, for the posle David hisself, who wrote the tex, god mad, and called all men liars, and cussed his enemies, wishin' 'em to go down quick into hell; and Noah, he got tite, and cussed his nigger boy Ham; just like some drunken masters now cusses their niggers. But Noah and David repented; and all on us what gits mad must repent, or the devil'll git us."

ENGLAND AND SLAVERY.

TO THE REDACTEUR OF THE "STAR."

Sir—Am I wake? or have I sleep, and dream that I am live in England? the country of Sir Cromwell; and in the city of the Lordmayor? I am astonish! All round I hear praise of the Americans of the South, and spite given to the side of freedom. How this? I leave my poor country, for that I cannot breathe; for that I was almost a slave; and now here is the same! The noble and the richmans; the savan and the mylady; the gentilmans and the valet; all say "vive" the South; and the press, who bost itself as free, even that speak for this vile thing. I have learn your tongue, but more easy than learn where is your Christianity, your justice, your sense of honest. I am a Frenchmans. Helas! an exile. Let the prayer of one sad heart reach you, oh! generous and noble Englishmans. Look! the hollow eyes of the millions of men oppressed are fixed upon you. Rise, then, once more, and make joy the soul of the peoples, so earnest, so unhappy; who wait, in tremble, to hear the deep roar of the English lion call down the shame and the destruction to all tyrants and robbers of men.—Accept, sir, the assurance of high consideration from your humble servant.

—*London Evening Star.* J. Dufour.

A Wise Laborer.—The chief originator of the plan of labor for the Freedmen of South Carolina, by which land is to be allotted to the negroes according to the size of families, etc., they becoming responsible for the raising of sufficient corn and potatoes for their own support, is Mr. Edward S. Philbrick, of Brookline, Mass. Mr. Philbrick was studying at Cambridge in 1846, is an engineer by profession, has been engaged in surveys in the West, and was for six years in charge of the repair department on the Boston and Worcester railroad. He came South in March, with the first company of teachers. His mathematical talents and practical knowledge he has brought hither, to give them to the work of leading these freedmen toward independence. He was assigned to duty on St. Helena, the garden of our sea islands, and has carried on the plantations under his charge with wise system. He allotted cotton lands to the people, who became responsible, in families generally, for their acre or acres. He had a plan of each field regularly laid out, with the names of those working each plot inscribed in the same order, directed each step of the season's work, and his success, marked as it has been, was only what all who knew his process expected. He is now engaged in collecting and ginning, at Beaufort, the cotton raised in this department.

When the payment of the colored people was long delayed last Autumn, Mr. Philbrick resolved that his people should receive their well-earned wages,